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PHANTASMATA

OR

ILLUSIONS AND FANATICISMS

OF

93787

PROTEAN FORMS PRODUCTIVE OF GREAT EVILS.

BY

R. R. MADDEN, F.R.C.S. Eng., M.R.I.A., &c.

AUTHOR OF "TRAVELS IN THE EAST;" "SHRINES AND SEPULCHRES;" "LIFE OF SAVONAROLA;" "MEMOIRS OF LADY BLESSINGTON," ETC.

"Imaginatio est tanquam Proteus et Chamæleon, corpus proprium et alienum nonnunquam afficiens."—Marsil. Ficinus, De Theol. Plat. lib. xiii. c. 18.

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Mad /Phc.
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DEDICATION.

TO

JAMES WILLIAM CUSACK, ESQ.

A.M., M.D., DUBLIN UNIV.; AND F.R.C.S., IRE.;
UNIV. PROFESSOR SURG., DUB.; SURG. STEEVEN'S HOSP.; SWIFT'S LUNAT.
ASYL., &C. &C.; M.R.I.A.; R. D. SOC.,
AND VARIOUS OTHER SCIENTIFIC AND LITERARY INSTITUTIONS.

DEAR SIR,

IN dedicating to you a work of much labour, and one, as I presume to think, calculated to promote objects not only of literary curiosity in relation to singular bewilderments of reason in past ages, but to prove of importance in our own times, to the interests of enlightenment, toleration, and humanity, and their bearing on modes of dealing with many forms of fanaticism; I am not less desirous of evincing how sensible I am that my production is honoured by its connection with your name, than gratified at having an opportunity of

expressing the obligations I owe to your friendship, and the advantages I have derived in private intercourse from your opinions, always temperate, just, and tolerant; the well considered results of experience long and large, extensive knowledge and medical philosophy.

I am, dear Sir,

Your obliged and grateful servant,

R. R. MADDEN.

1st January, 1857.

PREFACE.

In the quaint phraseology of old Fuller, "Phancie is an inward sense of the soul, for a while retaining and entertaining things brought in thither by the common sense; for whilst the understanding and the will are kept as it were in *Libera Custodia*, to their objects of Verum et Bonum, the Phancie is free from all engagements; it digs without spade, flies without wings, builds without charges, fights without bloodshed, in a moment striding from the centre to the circumference of the world, by a kind of omnipotence creating and annihilating things in an instant; and things divorced by nature are married in Phancie as in a lawful place. It is also most restless, whilst the senses are bound and reason in a manner asleep, Phancie, like a sentinel, walks the round, ever working, never wearied. The chief diseases of the Phancie are, either that they are too wild and high soaring, or else too low and grovelling, or else too desultory and over voluble."*

The subject of this work has largely to do with the failings and infirmities and passions of mankind

* "The Holy State," by Thomas Fuller, B.D., Prebend. of Sarum, Jan. 1652, p. 155.

and their accompanying disorders of the imagination, for to these sources must we attribute the epidemic fanaticisms which we meet with in history *and elsewhere*, simulating at one time an ardent zeal for religion, at another a glowing love of liberty, now a laudable ambition to rise in the world, to attain to power, to obtain wealth, to add field to field, possession to possession, dominion to dominion; anon a strong wish and settled purpose to dominate over others, to master their wills, to invade their rights, to trample down their inferior intelligence, weaker powers, or feebler energies of mind or body.

Striking illustrations will be found in these pages of epidemic fanaticisms, which bring men insensibly from morbid conditions of mind into monomaniacal states of being, into the practice of delusion, and eventually into familiar acquaintance with illusions and hallucinations of a sense or of all the senses.

We are accustomed to regard passing events of an extraordinary character which disturb society, as indications of rather too much political excitement or polemical heat, sectarian strife, competition in trade, monopoly in patronage and preferments, an insufficient police force, an inadequate representation, too little rationalism in religion, or reverence for law, or devotion to material interests, or knowledge of the true principles of political economy.

We find it saves the trouble of thinking deeply, to fall into this way of viewing remarkable outbreaks of popular phrenzy like those of the Reign of Terror of

the French Revolution, in the years 1792 and 1793: outbreaks of intolerance and immanity in Spain and Portugal in the times of the Inquisition; outbreaks of barbarity in England and Scotland and the New England States of America, in the proceedings against witches;* outbreaks of superstition in various countries in regard to new revelations of pseudo saints, pseudo "spiritualists," pseudo seers of mesmerism claiming prophetic gifts; outbreaks of a raging avidity for sudden gain, for means no matter how they may be acquired, to live luxuriously, or to seem to others to be *rich, grand, genteel, superior people, moving in some first circle* of one of the spheres of the many circles of metropolitan life; and for this false appearance that endures only for a short time, having recourse to fraud, swindling, and breach of trust: evils of which every day's reports attest the magnitude, and the fact of their being deeply rooted in this rank soil of our society, and widely spread over this great commercial country.

The madness of the various forms of fanaticism is not confined to individuals, it extends to communities, at times and intervals more or less widely separated, and seizes on the minds of nations at periods, of greater intervening distances, that have

* A succinct notice of the outbreaks of Witchcraft Mania in these countries will be found in the appendix to this volume. They are referred to only incidentally: the work of Sir Walter Scott on "Demonology," of Mr. Mackay on "Popular Delusions," and other similar recent productions supply all the information in detail that is required in relation to them.

been terminated by great wars, or other grievous public calamities.

Such fanaticisms have all the distinguishing characteristics of epidemic mental disorders. They are manifested in a ferocious spirit of intolerance, or a fierce and reckless zeal for party interests, or the triumph of extreme political opinions shaped or influenced by some evil passion or selfish motive, or in an insensate desire to plunge into gigantic speculations, or an unscrupulous aptness and promptitude to retrieve great failures by great frauds; and the crooked cleverness of a vigilant and astute cunning, fertile in expedients to evade detection; in a devouring eagerness for money that is not earned by honest industry, to supply wants that a false position has created; or in an inordinate ambition and imperial pride, lust of power, and military renown, and territorial aggrandizement on the part of mighty states; or in a furious impulse to acts of violence and injustice, brutal and sanguinary on the part of great numbers of people, who have truly become "les classes dangereuses de la societé."

When we read in the history of pagan Rome of the epidemic furibund fanaticisms, of the perpetual feuds of rival factions, wholesale murders without the formalities of war, bloody encounters of the partisans of Marius and Scylla, Cinna and Octavius, the constant strife of the patricians and plebeians, we can hardly realize the possibility of the recurrence in our times of any similar scenes of massa-

cres, seditions and proscriptions. And yet they have been enacted in the memory of some persons yet living, in one of the most civilized nations of Europe.

Chateaubriand, in his preface to the "Etudes Historiques," refers to a laborious work of the Republican Prudhomme, as an authority not to be suspected of any disposition to exaggerate the horrors of the French Revolution, wherein in a sort of Dictionary he gives the names, ages, places of birth, business, quality and profession, domiciles, date and nature of the crimes and places of execution of "the criminals," as he terms the victims of Revolutionary Madness. And there are data we are told by Chateaubriand to be found, which furnish evidence of the execution of 18,613 persons put to death by the guillotine—thus distributed:—

Ci-devant Nobles	1278
Women of the same category	750
Women of the labouring class and artizans	1467
Nuns (Religieuses)	350
Priests	1153
Men, not noble, of different conditions	13,635
Total guillotined	18,613

Other deaths in France attributed to the terrors of the Revolution:—

Women dead from premature accouchments	3400
Women dead in child-birth	348

Carnage in La Vendèe:—

Women killed in that province	15,000
Children killed in ditto	22,000
Killed of all categories in ditto	900,000

Carnage during the Proconsulate of Carrier at Nantes 32,000

Among these victims were:—

Children shot	500
Children drowned	1500
Women shot	500
Women drowned	500
Priests shot	300
Priests drowned	1400
Nobles drowned	1400
Artisans drowned	5300

Carnage at Lyons:—

Victims	31,000

In the above records the multitudes of prisoners massacred in the prisons of Paris, in the Abbaye, Les Carmes, and at Versailles, in Sept. 1792, and shot in the fosses of the fortresses of Toulon and Marseilles after the siege of those places, are not comprised.*

It is with individuals as with nations, they are controlled and restrained by the same influences, or corrupted and perverted by the same wild impulses of passion. A man is well constituted intellectually when his judgment retains its natural rectitude, and his moral sentiments and his affections maintain their

* Œuvres de Chateaubriand, Etudes Hist. Par. 1838, p. 279.

due equilibrium. But once the faculties of the soul and of the understanding are overpowered or thrown into disorder by disease, he can no longer count on the fidelity of his senses, the justness of his ideas or his reasonings. He can no longer confide in the motives on which his joys, his sorrows, his anger, his hatred are founded, nor rely on the reasons for which he acts, in one way rather than another.*

Hallucinations of various kinds ensue; and imagination dominated by disease will eventually give a being, shape and form, "a local habitation, and a name," to fixed ideas and chimeras which are the productions of the brain, will refer these ideas to impressions on the senses, and convert them into sensations.

The greatest thinker of his time, or perhaps of any time, Blaise Pascal, thus spoke of the most potent "Des Puissances Trompeuses"—that of the Imagination:

"It is this deceiving power in man: this mistress of error and falsehood, and so much the more deceptious, that it does not always seem so: for it would be an infallible rule of truth, if there was an infallible rule of falsehood. But being for the most part false, it yet gives no mark of its quality, but stamps with the same seal that which is true, and that which is not so. I speak not with reference to insane people, I speak of the most sagacious, and it is on such persons that imagination confers the great gift of persuading men. Reason in vain protests

* Calmeil de la Folie, t. i. p. 2.

against this. She cannot cause things to be appreciated at their proper value.

"This proud power—enemy of Reason, which finds a pleasure in controlling it, and dominating that faculty with the view of shewing how potent she is in all circumstances, has established in man a second nature. She has her fortunates, unfortunates, her sane, her sick, her rich, her poor. She causes her votaries to believe, to doubt, to contradict reason: she suspends the senses; causes them to revive: she has her madmen and her sages; and nothing offends us more than to find that she fills her votaries with a satisfaction far more full and entire than Reason does. And those who are dominated by Imagination, please themselves altogether differently to what those persons do, who are regulated by prudence, and yet who cannot reasonably please others."*

Imagination is then all powerful except over disease: the dominion of disease is exerted over imagination itself.

Imagination, however, is no distinct faculty of the mind. "The phenomena of imagination," says Brown, "are proofs only of those general tendencies of the mind by which we are susceptible of simple suggestion, of relative suggestion, and of desire, but not of any specific faculty additional to them."† The

* Pensées de Pascal par M. Prospere Faugere, en 2 Tomes, Paris, 1844, t. 2. p. 37.

† Philosophy of the Human Mind, by Thomas Brown, M.D. &c. Ed. 1826, p. 247.

sequence of conception after conception, the strong desire of recalling, applying, and adjusting those simple and relative suggestions constitute those vivid powers of reminiscence and conception, exaltation of ideas, and productiveness of ideal images, which in their aggregate, are called Imagination.

The nature of such elements and operations is sufficient to shew how easily they may be disordered by disturbing physical influences.

Old Fuller prescribes various kinds of "hard and knotty studies" for slight disorders of the imagination —for instance, "a gradual acquaintance with scholastic theology," he thinks "will cloy the overnimble phancie;" but he judiciously turns over to the doctors the graver chronic diseases of the imagination:—"I meddle not with those Bedlam phancies, all whose conceits are antiques, but leave them for the Physician to purge with hellebore."*

The imagination exerts a powerful influence, not only over the mind, but over the functions of every organ essential to vitality in the human frame. A very eminent and accomplished medical man, in a publication which appeared in 1823 (without the advantage of his name†) has given expression to a similar opinion in the following words:

"Much of the error that prevails upon the subject of diseases, and their *remedies*, depends on the notion so generally entertained by unprofessional persons,

* The Holy State, by Thos. Fuller, B.D. p. 167.

† Sir Philip Crampton, Bart.

that the nerves and the imagination, and consequently '*nervous*' and '*imaginary*' diseases are synonymous terms; that diseases of this class have no existence but in the distempered fancies of the patients, or in some indescribable commotion of the 'nervous influence;' and it is a matter of common observation, that in such diseases there is a great subserviency to moral impression, it is concluded that the *body* is affected, but in a secondary way, and that the disease being in the mind, is more properly a subject for moral than for medical discipline. When such a disease, therefore, is cured by a strong mental excitement, the effect is considered as quite natural and simple; but a broad line is drawn between diseases of this class, and those in which there is a sensible derangement in the functions of the organs, or a tangible alteration in their structure; here they say is physical derangement; here the 'nerves,' (considered as synonymous with the imagination) have nothing to do with the matter.

"But anatomy suggests a very different view of the subject: from thence we learn, that the animal body consists of two distinct parts, namely, a part that *feels*, and a part that *moves*. The sentient part consists of the brain, spinal marrow, and nerves, which, taken together, constitute what is called the nervous system. The moving parts consist of the muscles and the internal organs, as the heart, arteries, lungs, and in short all the organs (with the exception of the brain and nerves), which are subser-

vient to the functions of life. But it can be proved, that the moving parts derive their power of feeling and of moving exclusively from the nervous system, because the dividing a nerve utterly deprives the part to which its branches are distributed of sensation as well as motion; and it can be proved, that the nervous system is equally affectable, or liable to be acted upon, by moral and by physical agency. It follows then, that no limits can be assigned to the influence which the nerves, and through them the moral affections, or (to use the common expression) the imagination may exercise on the animal economy in health and in disease.

"But there are certain moral feelings which have a power, not only to derange the *functions*, but to destroy the *structure* of certain organs; thus long protracted grief produces diseases of the liver, heart, and lungs; and the anatomist, who examines the body which has sunk under the workings of a wounded spirit, will find the sentiment embodied in the disorganised liver, the tuberculated lungs, or the flaccid and extenuated heart. Again, diseases of physical origin in the heart, liver, or lungs, excite the corresponding moral affections with which these organs are associated; thus a palpitating heart fills the bosom with vague terrors, and a torpid liver entails all the horrors of hypochondriasis.

'The yellow bile, that on your bosom floats,
Engenders all those melancholy thoughts,'

Dryden.

is at least as good an authority in medicine as it is in poetry."*

Sir Philip Crampton in effect gives us to understand, that many disorders are caused by imagination, and others, which are not so, are maintained by its influence, and when curable may be cured by it. Great, indeed then, is the power of imagination: "Maxima vis est phantasiæ; et huic uni ferè, non autem corporis intemperiei, omnis melancholiæ causa est adscribenda."†

The fanaticisms of fraud, of fear, of superstition and of public opinion powerfully excited, as in the periods of revolutionary or religious strife, when they assume the form and dimensions of epidemic insanity, have their foundations in disorders of the moral sense, in passions which are dominated by the "Puissances Trompeuses de l'Imagination," that pervert, deprave, deceive, and perturb the understanding. They are symptomatic, moreover, of evils in society, which are not to be removed or remedied by materialism, professing Christianity, or sanctimony and sectarianism, proffering for genuine religious instruction, the teachings of strife and bitterness, a knowledge of the controversies and dissidences in religious belief,‡ but not a knowledge of Christian charity,

* A Physiological Inquiry, &c. by a Physician. Sir Philip Crampton, Dublin, 1823. † Arnoldus. Breviar. Lib. I. cap. 18.

‡ "I might hear and decide controversies as well as another," said Confucius, "but what I would have is, that men should be brought to abstain from controversies out of an inward love and regard for each other."—*Scientia Sin.* lib. fol. i. 12.

and the genuine humanising influences of Christian principles.

The result of my inquiries and researches on this subject of epidemic fanaticisms in many points has not been in accordance with my expectations, but in stating that result I have no preconceived opinions to confirm, or particular theory to support.

The greatest fanaticisms this world ever saw have not originated with the poor, the unenlightened and uneducated; they have originated with the educated classes, with those who do not labour manually for their bread. Fanatics who have attained to the eminence of leaders of their fellow enthusiasts, have generally been persons of abilities and acquirements; clever, shrewd, and in the common acceptation of the term, "educated men."

The faculties of the mind which are developed by mere intellectual education may be greatly improved by it, and yet remain incapable of controlling and directing the passions; and the powers of the imagination may be even inordinately developed by it, if it be not associated with another kind of education, that has to do with the heart and its affections, with man's spiritual being, its aspirations, its trials, and its struggles. This thought seems to have been passing through the mind of an eminent statesman, when on a recent occasion presiding at a public meeting convened for the purpose of promoting education, he declared the lamentable fact that in the midst of our civilization, in the towns and cities

where our great trade and manufactures flourished, people were to be found "knowing nothing of the truths of religion, ignorant even of the name of God and of Christ."*

The statesman asks "how came this about?" the philosopher inquires "how the want of that kind of knowledge in the young is to be supplied?" "The mind of a young creature," says Bishop Berkeley, "cannot remain empty, if you do not put into it that which is good it will be sure to use even that which is bad."

* "Lord John Russell paid a visit to Gloucester to-day. After visiting the Ragged School here, and examining the pupils, 160 in number, and also inspecting the industrial farm connected with it, his lordship presided at a public meeting held at the Shire Hall.

"Lord J. Russell, on taking the chair, addressed the meeting at some length. He said, in this age of civilization, and in a country justly proud of what the labour, the skill, the ingenuity, and the science of man had accomplished, we found that in the midst of society—in London, close by the dwellings of the highest and the noblest of the land—in the cities where our great manufactures flourished, and in the towns supplied with every convenience of life, there were persons in the lowest class of society, and a country which traded with the countries of the whole world, knowing nothing of geography, in a country boasting of its history and constitution, knowing nothing of that history or that constitution; more than all, in a country where the light of the Gospel was spread around, knowing nothing of the truths of religion—ignorant even of the name of God and of Christ. He pointed to the reports of the chaplains of gaols and inspectors of prisons in proof of this, and asked—*how, then, came this about?*"

The influences of that kind of education which I have referred to, is not to be supplied by power of repression that belongs to the authority of the police, or power of enlightenment that looks only to the maintenance of physical order, and to the encouragement alone of material interests for its successes.

Law and order that conduce to governmental ease may be promoted to a great extent by mere secular education, or any system of instruction that favours industrial pursuits, and contributes thereby to the material prosperity of a nation, and yet grave anomalies in moral law and order may coexist with those influences, and very formidable fanaticisms may be coincident with them.

Sir Thomas Noon Talfourd the last time he sat on the bench, in his last address to a Grand Jury, attributed the formidable increase of crime that came before him "in a great degree to that separation between class and class which is the great curse of British society; and for which we are all in our respective spheres, in some degree responsible. . . . And if I were to be asked what is the great want of English society—to mingle class with class, I would say; in one word, it is the want of sympathy."

We find in a recent notice of Sir Robert Peel by M. Guizot, expressions attributed to that enlightened statesman, which plainly shew he participated in the sentiments of Judge Talfourd, and that he was not only conscious of the responsibilities of the rich and powerful in regard to the humbler classes, but earnest

in his purpose to perform the duties of his high station to the labouring classes—the hard struggling poor of this country.

We find in Chateaubriand's "Memoires d'Outre Tombe," expressions attributed to a statesman, a wise and good man, of great experience in governmental affairs—Lord Liverpool—indicative of grave apprehensions for the institutions, and social fabric of the country, which were the subjects of Chateaubriand's eloquent eulogiums: "Lord Liverpool avait lui meme des tristes presentimens. Je dinai un jour chez lui: apres le repas nous causames à un fenetre qui s'ouvrait sur la Tamise; ou apercevoit en avant de la riviere, une partie de la citè dont le brouillard et la fumèe elargissait la masse. Je faisais à mon hôte l'eloge de cette monarchie Anglaise ponderèe par le balancement egal de la libertè de la presse et de pouvoir. Le venerable Lord levant et allongeant le bras me montre de la main, la Citè et m'a dit: Qu'y a-t il de Solide dans ses villes enormes?"*

"The venerable Lord" did not confine himself to this brief expression of his thoughts. He made another observation which indicated an opinion plainly enough: that in vast cities the danger to their solidity and security lay in the separation between class and class, the want of sympathy, of cohesion in the elements of their society.

It is a reciprocal sense of duty on the part of the

* Mem. de l'Outre Tombe, tome 4, p. 210

different classes, a reciprocal sense of right, to care and sympathy, and to the protection of the state for the interests of all, that can give to society that only enduring existence which it can have.

The lawgiver of the Locrians, Zeleucus, prefaced his ordinances with a fundamental principle, that he would have pervade all legislation for the government of men: "That every inhabitant subject of the state should be persuaded that there is a God and Divine Providence. That the only way of becoming dear to God is by endeavouring, above all things, to be good both in deed and in will. That a worthy citizen is one that prefers integrity to wealth."*

It is said that, "man ignorant and uncivilised, is a ferocious, sensual, and superstitious savage." But there may be a great deal of savagery in the heart's core of civilization, when the intellectual faculties only have been educated, and the moral feelings and affections have been left untaught. To use common but significant terms, you must educate the heart as well as the head. The instruction we give to people when we teach them to read and write, and impart elementary knowledge to them, connected with the arts and sciences, will not teach them their duties towards God, or their fellow creatures, or enable them to control their passions, or communicate to them a just knowledge of the genuine principles of the Gospel, the beginning and the end of its great

* Stobæus de Leg. et Consuet. S. 145.

teaching, to live in the love and fear of God, doing to others as we would be done to by them. Religious teaching only will instruct the young in the knowledge of those principles, and do more than that—train and maintain them in the practice of the precepts of the Gospel. "What is the sum and substance, scope and end of Christ's religion, but the love of God and man? To which all other points and duties are relative and subordinate, as parts or means, as signs, principles, motives, or effects."* When imagination soars above reason, and is bewildered by its exaltation, there is no other light but that which comes from heaven, to dispel the clouds which envelope it.

"Riccorditi, Lettor: se mai nell Alpe
Ti colse nebbia, per le qual vedessi
Non altrimenta, che per pelle talpe;
Come, quando i vapori umidi e spessi
A diradar comminciansi, la spera
Del sol debilmente entrare per essi."†

* The Minute Philosopher, Dial. V. p. 186.

† Dantè "La Divina Commedia." Dél. Purg. Canto xvii.

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EPIDEMIC MENTAL DISORDERS.

CHAPTER I.

NOTICE OF SOME OF THE EPIDEMIC DISORDERS OF THE MIND WHICH HAVE PREVAILED IN EUROPE, IN THE 14TH, 15TH, 16TH, AND 17TH CENTURIES.—INTRODUCTORY OBSERVATIONS.

In the 14th, 15th, 16th, and 17th centuries, various commotions which affected the moral sentiments, and the intellectual powers of a considerable number of persons, took place in the principal countries of Europe, in various communities; and signally in the convents of several of the religious orders in France, Spain, and Germany. These disturbances seemed to be of a contagious character, and they prevailed epidemically in particular localities at the same period.

The subject is one of deep interest, and not without its salutary teachings and warnings, for fanaticism, fixed ideas, and delusions of all sorts in our own times: though civilization has advanced, and many branches of learning and physical science have made rapid strides of improvement, and dispelled some of the darkest clouds which obscured

the intellect and bewildered the reason of vast numbers of people in former ages.

The signal advancement especially of medical science directed to the pursuits of physiology and pathology, in connexion with the study of cerebral disease, has contributed largely to this important result. But manifest as the progress of civilization has been, particularly in the last century and a half, it is very doubtful, if the progress of enlightenment among the masses of any country in Europe, has been of so genuine a character as may be commonly imagined; or if the same predisposing causes were again to come into operation—namely, public calamities on a large scale, civil commotions, protracted war, famine, pestilence, religious strife, fanaticism, and oppression—they might not produce epidemic mental disorders, as terrible as any which have occurred in past times under the names of Theomania, Demonolatria and Demonopathy, including all the forms of mental illusions connected with witchcraft, communication with spirits, divination, and diabolical possession. The prevailing ideas of modern times, the predominant influences of their politics, polemics, forms of government, industrial pursuits, modes of life, competitions, struggles, sufferings, and privations of the industrious poor, and their influences on the health, morals and energies of the community, would naturally modify the character, and determine the type of those diseased conditions of mind and body which might

be expected to arise from wide-spread calamities in our times.

The panics of a community, like the terrors of an individual when they strike deep and are of long continuance, are productive of great disturbances moral as well as physical; and their general results will be of a corresponding character in all ages. Extraordinary calamities, affecting great numbers of persons, are not likely indeed in our time to be followed by mental disorders attended with hallucinations connected with a belief in witchcraft or demon worship, or transformation of human beings into wolves and other animals. But they are equally likely now, as at any former period, to be followed by mental disorders connected with the prevailing ideas, interests, and speculations of the age.

Professor Hecker, treating of the origin and dissemination of pestilences, favours the opinion of the existence of some unknown powers which exert an important influence over our planet, either astral or telluric, influences wholly unconnected with the modes of communication of disease by contact or atmospheric contamination. This learned physician frequently furnishes evidence in his "History of the Epidemics of the Middle Ages," of great plagues having been preceded by convulsions of the earth of various kinds, and by exhalations from it, noxious to human existence. In his preface to the treatise entitled "The Black Death," he thus refers to the subject:

"Human knowledge is not yet sufficiently advanced to discover the connexion between the processes which occur above, and those which occur below the surface of the earth, or even fully to explore the laws of nature, an acquaintance with which would be required; far less to apply them to great phenomena in which one spring sets a thousand others in motion."

These great phenomena are connected with the revolutions which are performed in vast cycles, separated by distances our limited faculties are hardly able to comprehend. Nevertheless, their importance as terrestrial events is greater than that of any results of war, of national & governmental acts, or the evil passions of mankind.

The convulsions of nature are productive of great commotions in the minds of nations; and national catastrophes are productive of dread conflicts in society and striking changes in civilization. The fanaticism of fear, in such calamitous times, gets firm hold of the public mind and keeps for a long time possession of its powers. Physical sufferings on a great scale and contagious disorders are followed by moral maladies and convulsions of the nervous system, which prevail in the manner of epidemics. And history teaches us those grave facts in relation to them: "The human race, amidst the creations which surround it, moves in body and soul as one individual whole," acted on continually by surrounding elements and incidents, and re-acting on each other.

The mind and body reciprocally and mysteriously affect each other. To determine where disorders of the body cease to be merely physical derangements, and when mental maladies supervene on bodily ailments, and to distinguish between states of health in which bodily functions or organs are affected, and mental faculties or moral feelings are perverted, requires a large amount of knowledge of medical philosophy as well as of practical acquaintance with medical pursuits.

In aid of both, history must step forward to enlighten our researches, before we can comprehend those phenomena which are connected with the desolations of great pestilences, the subsequent mental disturbances of communities or nations, when it would appear as if "nature was not satisfied with the ordinary alternations of life or death, and the destroying angel waved over man and beast his flaming sword."*

It might be added, we must have that historic light, before we can understand how many degrees there are of enthusiasm and of excitability of the nervous system, which amount not to the temperature of the mind at which reason ceases to be recognized as a controlling power.

The disturbances of the mind which prevailed in the middle ages in an epidemic form, we are told, belong only to history; they will never appear again

* Hecker, Gen. Observ. on "The Black Death," ch. i. p. 1.

in the form in which they are recorded. But in modified shapes we must believe they will appear in due season and at appointed epochs, as they have hitherto done. They will be followed by mental disturbances and aberrations; for to the end of time and in all stages of civilization, imagination will probably continue to exert, as she has hitherto exerted, a marvellous influence over the production of disease, and morbid sentiments that border on insanity, or tend to pass that boundary, will be found in particular states of society to merge into new forms of fanaticism.

Public opinion in our age has a platform for its exercise, which it never had before. Its power undoubtedly is calculated in ordinary circumstances to mitigate or to stay such national calamities as I have referred to, and to deal with them so as to render a vast deal of the suffering they entail endurable. But there are disasters which befal nations, by war, pestilences, and famine, by corruption and the seeds of decay or disorder in the heart's core of their institutions, which no public opinion can controul.

The disenthralment of public opinion from all bonds, the license given to experimental political philosophy at the onset of the French Revolution, proved of small avail in controlling or directing that madness of a nation's mind, which partook at once of the phrensy of exaltation, of extravagant ideas, of inebriated ignorance, the fanaticism of fear,

and the homicidal instincts, and alienation of the moral sentiments.

Such public opinion as prevailed in the middle ages was enlisted on the side of the several delusions which assumed the forms and proportions of epidemic insanity.

Public opinion was in correspondence with the philosophy, theology, and medical science of the times, in relation to sorcery, divination, and diabolical possession. Nothing could prevail against its despotism.

The tyranny of public opinion is laid on foundations deep and strong—ignorance and pusillanimity. In all ages, we may speculate largely on the widely prevailing influences of folly and of fear; and even in this 19th century have we such sure grounds for our confidence in its civilization that no fears may be entertained of any recurrence of those bewilderments of reason, widely spread, under which multitudes of people laboured in "the dark ages?"

Are we forgetful of the epidemic delirium of the followers of Mr. Thoms in Canterbury and its vicinity, of the belief in his divinity, of the sincerity of that belief, sealed with the blood of several of his followers?

Can the theomania of the followers of Johanna Southcote be forgotten? the formation of an extensive sect, deriving their doctrine from the hallucinations of an illiterate, repulsive, dropsical old dame,

dreaming in her dotage of the instincts of maternity, and of a divine mission being given to her? or the delusions of those followers, which were so strongly manifested in the preparation of a costly cradle and swaddling clothes of the finest texture for the expected offspring of an infatuated old woman?

Has the enlightenment of the 19th century so entirely dissipated the dark thick mists of demented superstition that no traces of it are to be found in modern English and American records? In what language is the future word-painter of Welsh history to depict the strange antics and the frantic orgies of the Jumpers and Revivalist fanatics?

Will Macaulay "come down" to the period of the field meetings of the saints, and the love-feasts of the brethren and sisterhood of the elect in Wales? Or will Alison "finish Europe" with a chapter on modern miracles, furnishing a resumée of the phenomena and an elucidation of the mysteries of clairvoyance?

Shall we read in that chapter of revelations from the other world by persons in "the superior condition," solemnly announced in the presence of Christan ministers, of dignitaries of the Church, impugning doctrines of Christianity which are deemed fundamental truths in all its Churches?

Must we go back to the middle ages for sorcery and dealings with "Satan's invisible king-

dom?" Or may we not only have to cross the Atlantic on a voyage of discovery for devils and those who commune with "fallen angels" and "inferior spirits?" Have we not in America, at the *seances* of the spirit-rappers, scenes which may remind us of the "Sabbaths" of assembled witches; media stationed in circles, intent on conjurations, discoursing in a jargon scarcely intelligible to the uninitiated, invoking spirits—some "disobedient," "mischievous," "perverse," "mocking," and "mendacious;" others "benign," "angelic," and "divinely gifted intelligences"?

Have we not Judges of the land, eminent lawyers, divines, and journalists, and many thousands of educated people (estimated throughout the Union by hundreds of thousands of persons) in the present year of grace, professed believers in or practisers of this "art," which was formerly called "black"?

Are we unmindful of the epidemic insanity of the Mormons, of their faith in the impostures of a mechanic in very indifferent repute in his own locality, in the finding by Joe Smith of the ancient scrolls and tables with the divine inscriptions of long-lost revelation, concerning the tribe of Nephi and that of the Jaredites? Of the extravagances of those mind-bewildered people in their own state; of their battles with their countrymen, of the loss of life in one of them, on the part of their Chief and Prophet; of their Exodus, their wanderings in the wilderness, their settlement on the borders of the

Salt Lake, and the increment, even at the present day, which their numbers receive from the southern shores of England?

But the preceding visitations of partial delirium were few and far between compared with the epidemic monomanias which prevailed in former ages. It must be borne in mind, however, that they occurred in ordinary times and under ordinary circumstances. They were not the results of great mental disturbances, or physical sufferings, produced by signal calamities and public commotions, or powerful impressions made by prevailing prejudices, and dominant ideas connected with generally received opinions on the subject of sorcery, divination, or diabolical possession, ascetic austerities, ecstasies, trances, visions, or apparitions.

Had they followed in the wake of great public commotions and calamities, wars, pestilences, famines, or rapacities at the hands of wicked rulers, what solid reason have we to believe that they would have been less violent in their action, less *dehumanizing* in their consequences, or of less frequent recurrence than analogous epidemic monomaniacal disorders were in the middle ages? The only good and sufficient reason that can be adduced for the belief that such disorders of the moral sense in our times would be of a mitigated character, and of more rare occurrence in an epidemic form, is the progress of medical science, and the great advancement of our knowledge of diseases affecting the

intellectual faculties, and the moral sense and feelings.

We have abundant confessions of compacts with devils, preparation of philtres, all kinds of extravagant practices of a sortilegious kind in the records of judicial proceedings of the middle ages, and of those occurrences which took place under the sanction and auspices of spiritual superstitions, carried into effect by the strong hand of the secular arm, at the gibbet and the stake.

And in the 19th century, we have no dearth of avowals of sorcery, of interviews with Satan, of power derived from his angels, of the perpetration of fearful crimes committed by Satanic suggestion; but not in the same places and the same circumstances as in the middle ages. *We have them now in lunatic asylums,* on the part of persons who are restrained on account of their insanity, and not burned in the market places on the plea of vindicating God's honour.

"Les Egaremens de l'Esprit Humain" is the title of an excellent work by Pluquet, written about a century ago, when society in France was still torn by a sort of warfare little known among heathen nations—a warfare of religion. "Wars of this kind have their origin," observes Pluquet, in the introduction to his work, "not in the principles of religion, but in the passions which religion combats, and often in the vices even of civil government; often has fanaticism been kindled by cupidity and

inordinate desires for domination; often have the factious and discontented profited by fanaticism and the strife of Christians; often have ambition and state craft turned true and unaffected zeal to the account of their designs."*

The same author has truly said—

"The principle of fanaticism is hidden, as it may be said, in the bottom of the heart of every man, and nothing so rapidly develops it as the dissidences of sects and disputes about religion. They alone can develop it, in all hearts, and can give to fanaticism an activity and audacity capable of daring every thing, of resisting every thing, of sacrificing every thing to party interests.

"Those dissidences of sects, so injurious to religion and civil societies, have their source in the imperfections and passions belonging to human nature, and each age contains within its limits, in some way or other, the germ of all schism and of all errors. . . .

"Fanaticism is an ardent but blind zeal. It grows up and kindles into flame in the bosom of ignorance, and burns ou and becomes extinct in the presence of truth.

"In an enlightened nation, fanatic leaders are only sick men (morbidly affected persons) who are

* Memoires pour servir à l'histoire Des Egaremens de l'Esprit Humain, par rapport de la Religion Chretienne. Par. 1762. En 2 tomes, 12mo

pitied, or impostors who excite only indignation or contempt."

If that element of fanaticism be then concealed in the bottom of the heart of every one, as the enlightened author of the Bewilderments of the mind of man supposed, needing only sectarian dissidences and religious strife for its development, and that condition of mental sickness which, in enlightened nations, begets compassion or contempt (when it is restrained); an inquiry into the outbreaks of that fanaticism, and the disorders which are its results in times and countries when that restraint was relaxed or done away with, and the means which were ineffectually employed to restore the reason that was morbidly affected by it, and to bring back a system of moderation, tolerance, and enlightened zeal for religion, such as it should inspire;—this inquiry is not a vain one, and nothing connected with it can be unimportant which is turned to the account of right reason, in matters which concern people of all creeds and of all ages.

The celebrated physician and "homme d'esprit," Guy Patin, in regard to belief in sorcery, has observed: "La plupart des apparitions, des esprits, des sorcelleries, des predictions, divinations, et autres choses semblables, dont l'on etourdit les simples, qui, veulent ensuite nous en etourdir j'appelle tout cela—les gazettes des sots *et le credo de ceux qui ont trop de foi.*"*

* L'Esprit de Guy Patin. Amstel. 1760, in 16mo. p. 36.

There is a solecism in the phrase "too much faith." But too much enthusiasm in matters of religion—fervour that is not regulated by the legitimate authority of fixed laws and settled doctrines, will no doubt be found productive of fanaticism.

There is, however, another, and perhaps a worse species of fanaticism than this—the fanaticism of infidelity, a fierce spirit of intolerance of all faith in religion, uniting a profound feeling of contempt for the fundamental doctrines of Christianity, with ferocious sentiments of rancorous animosity towards those who believe in them.

It was this latter sort of fanaticism which gave a homicidal character to the great delirium of the moral sentiments at the period of the French Revolution. Sixty-five years have not elapsed since the horrors of that fanaticism were witnessed in a country then one of the most civilized in Europe. An infidel philosophy prepared the mind of the French nation for that fanaticism.

An infidel periodical literature in England is accomplishing a similar mission there—slowly perhaps, but surely, among the great masses of the people; and where its propagandism of infidelity, and the vulgar cynicism of socialism does not extend, corresponding results may be expected from the prevalent indifference in matters of religion which characterizes the literature, science, and philosophy of our time, which pervades our journalism, and lurks under the folds of the drapery of fashion as well as in the precincts of St. Stephen's Chapel.

An able writer, who deals unceremoniously enough with the religion of Roman Catholics, observes:

"Superstition is undoubtedly an evil; but incredulity, in my opinion, is a worse. This, rather than the former, seems the evil of the day; and I would prefer throwing the weight of argument into the counteracting scale. Superstition appears to be a morbid excrescence, attaching mischievously upon and deriving sustenance from what is good. It is allied to Ignorance, while Humility, Innocence and Devotion are sometimes its companions. Incredulity is, on the contrary, connected intimately with our Pride; and is the core of much that is sinfully and perilously wrong. . . ."

"But ûnbelief is the vice of a higher step in the social scale. It is the creature of that worldly knowledge which, involving no fear of God, is not the beginning, but the marring of true wisdom; the growth of a depravity, to which the temptations that beset superior ranks conduce."*

Bishop Butler, in a sermon before the House of Lords, in 1741, manifested truly a divining spirit, all instinct with that political sagacity, "rapt into future times," which calculates "coming events" of great pith and moment in a state, by the shadows which impiety and fanaticism cast before them: "Is there no danger," he observed, "that all this may raise somewhat like that levelling spirit upon atheistical principles, which in the last age prevailed upon

* Tract on Miracles, by E. Barton, London, 1823.

enthusiastical ones? Not to speak of the possibility that different sorts of people may unite in it upon those contrary principles." The Bishop, in that reference to "the levelling principle upon atheistical principles," of the last age, did not regard the French Revolution in the same light as Lord Mansfield did when he said of it: "It is an event without precedent, and therefore without prognostic."

An inquiry of this sort is then not one of mere literary curiosity, it cannot fail to prove one of practical utility, if pursued in an unsectarian spirit, with earnestness of purpose, truthfulness, industry, and knowledge of the subject to which it is directed in all its bearings, on existing circumstances, having any analogy with those, which have been found so productive of nervous excitement, and cerebral disturbances at particular epochs, that have prevailed like epidemics in former ages.

But in one point of view especially the utility of such an inquiry must be obvious to every one. An accurate knowledge of the true character of those outbreaks of nervous excitement and cerebral disturbances, which terminated in monomania, and were attributed to malignant influences of various kinds, in ancient times, must afford advantages for the study of history of modern times, as well as ancient, and for forming a just estimate of acts of individuals manifesting extraordinary enthusiasm, extravagance, temerity, fanaticism, or superstition, which cannot be over-rated.

It only remains for the author, in this introductory chapter, to observe: there is no subject treated in these volumes which has not, either directly or indirectly, some important bearings on great questions, some of vital interest, which agitate the minds of thinking men of our own times.

CHAPTER II.

OF THE NATURE AND DISTINCTION OF VARIOUS FORMS OF MENTAL DISTURBANCE.

BEFORE the subject of this treatise is entered on,—"A notice of some of the principal Epidemic Disorders of the Mind, which have formerly prevailed in Europe"—a few words may be said of the nature and distinction of mental diseases generally, without entering into the minutiæ of professional research, placing before the reader simply the opinions on this subject of some of the most eminent writers.

In ancient times insanity was considered as a preternatural mental condition, occasioned by a sort of transmigration of the dispositions, feelings, and phantasies of evil spirits into the bodies of human beings.

Several of the Greek philosophers speak of madness as arising from the malign influence of a demon; and Xenophon, no doubt, was indebted to that source for the origin of phrenzy, which he attributes to a spirit, or a demon: and Aristophanes, in like manner, attributes mania to an evil one—*kakodaimon*.

Plato sought in human nature its vices and their

results, in the penalties of ignorance and indulged passions, the origin of mental disorders and perturbations.

In the "Timæus," after describing how the diseases of the body are produced, Plato observes: "Diseases of the soul resulting from the body are as follows: We must admit that the disease of the soul is folly, or a privation of intellect; and that there are two kinds of folly, the one madness, the other ignorance. Whatever passion, therefore, a person experiences, that induces either of them, must be called a disease. Excessive pleasures, however, are what we should call the greatest diseases of the soul; . . . and indeed it may almost be asserted, that all intemperance in any kind of pleasure, and all disgraceful conduct, is not properly blamed as the consequence of voluntary guilt. For no one is voluntarily bad; but he who is depraved, becomes so through a certain habit of body, and an ill-regulated education, and to every one these are inimical, as they result in a certain evil."

"Besides this also, the vicious manners of cities, and discourses both private and public, often contribute to increase this malady; nor are any branches of learning taught in early life, which tend to serve as remedies for such mighty ills; and thus all the vicious are vicious through two most involuntary causes, which we should always ascribe rather to the planters than the things planted, and to the trainers rather than those trained; but still it should

be our anxious endeavour, as far as we can, by education, studies, and learning, to fly from vice, and acquire its contrary—virtue."*

In the "Phædrus" Plato makes Socrates speak of madness as a sacred malady; from some kinds of which disease, when sent by divine bounty, great advantages were derived. "For the prophetess at Delphi and the priestesses at Dodona when mad have done many and noble services for Greece, both privately and publicly, but in their sober senses little or nothing. And if we were to speak of the Sybil and others who employed prophetic inspiration, and have correctly predicted many things to many persons respecting the future, we should be too prolix in relating what is known to every one. This, however, deserves to be adduced by way of testimony, that such of the ancients as gave names to things, did not consider madness as disgraceful, or a cause of reproach: for they would not have attached this very name to that most noble art, by which the future is discerned, and have called it a mad art: but considering it noble when it happens by the divine decree, they gave it this name; but the men of the present day, by ignorantly inserting the letter R, have called it the prophetic art."

"Moreover, for those dire diseases and afflictions, which continued in some families in consequence of ancient crimes committed by some or other of them,

* The Works of Plato. The Timæus translated by Henry Davis. Bohn's ed. vol. ii. p. 403.

madness springing up and prophesying to those to whom it was proper, discovered a remedy, fleeing for refuge to prayers and services of the Gods, whence obtaining purifications and atoning rites, it made him who possessed it sound, both for the present and the future, by discovering to him, who was rightly mad and possessed, a release from present evils. There is a third possession and madness proceeding from the Muses, which seizing upon a tender and chaste soul, and rousing and inspiring it to the composition of odes and other species of poetry, by adorning the countless deeds of antiquity, instructs posterity. But he who without the madness of the Muses approaches the gates of poesy, under the persuasion that by means of art he can become an efficient poet, both himself fails in his purpose, and his poetry being that of a sane man, is thrown into the shade by the poetry of such as are mad."*

The great problem of physiology—the influence of matter on the mind, and the nature of the connexion between both, remains still unsolved; a mystery which hitherto has baffled the research of men of science, the speculations of metaphysicians, and derived little advantage from the inspiration of oracles, poets and philosophers. On the cognate subject of mental disturbance and aberration they have thrown as little light, and to modern philoso-

* Plato in Phædrus. Translated by H. Cary, M.A. vol. ii. p. 320.

phy and medical science alone we must look for knowledge.

Locke, treating of the marked difference in the understanding of men that must be obvious to every one, says: "Which great difference in men's intellectuals, whether it rises from any defect in the organs of the body, particularly adapted to thinking; or in the dulness or untractableness of those faculties for want of use; or, as some think, in the unnatural differences of men's souls themselves; or some, or all of these together; it matters not here to examine; only this is evident, that there is a difference of degrees in men's understandings, apprehensions, and reasonings, to so great a latitude, that one may, without doing injury to mankind, affirm that there is a greater distance between some men and others, in this respect, than between some men and some beasts."*

Elsewhere, Locke, on the same subject, observes: "There is, it is visible, great variety in men's understandings, and their natural constitutions put so wide a difference between some men in this respect, that art and industry would never be able to master; and their very natures seem to want a foundation to raise on it that which other men easily attain unto. Amongst men of equal education there is great inequality of parts. And the woods of America, as well as the schools of Athens, produce

* Locke, Essay on the Human Understanding. Chap. "Of Wrong Assent or Error," p. 285.

men of several abilities in the same kind. Though this be so, yet I imagine most men come very short of what they might attain unto, in their several degrees, by a neglect of their understandings."*

"We are born with faculties and powers capable almost of any thing, such at least as would carry us farther than can easily be imagined; but it is only the exercise of those powers, which gives us ability and skill in any thing, and leads us towards perfection."†

Locke, treating of the different kinds of reasoners, arranges them into three classes: the first never reason at all, but adopt the opinions of those about them or over them: "The second is of those who put passion in the place of reason, and being resolved that shall govern their actions and arguments, neither use their own nor hearken to other people's reason any further than it suits their humour, interest or party; and these, one may observe, commonly content themselves with words which have no distinct ideas to them, though in other matters, that they come with an unbiassed indifferency to, they want not abilities to talk and hear reason, where they have no secret inclination that hinders them from being intractable to it. The third sort is of those who readily and sincerely follow reason; but for want of having that which one may call large, sound, round-about sense, have not a full view of all

* Locke, On the Conduct of the Understanding, p. 325.

† Ibid. p. 331.

that relates to the question, and may be of moment to decide it."

"In this we may see the reason why some men of study and thought that reason right, and are lovers of truth, do make no great advances in their discoveries of it. Error and truth are uncertainly blended in their minds; their decisions are lame and defective, and they are very often mistaken in their judgments; the reason whereof is, they converse with one sort of men, they read but one sort of books, they will not come in the hearing but of one sort of notions; the truth is, they canton out to themselves a little garden in the intellectual world, where light shines, and as they conclude, day blesses them; but the rest of that vast expansum they give up to night and darkness, and so avoid coming near it."

"They have a petty traffic with known correspondents in some little creek, within which they confine themselves, and are dexterous managers enough of the wares and products of the corner, with which they content themselves, but will not venture out into the great ocean of knowledge to survey the riches that nature hath stored other parts with, no less genuine, no less solid, no less useful than what has fallen to their lot, in the admired plenty and sufficiency of their own little spot, which to them contains whatsoever is good in the universe. Those who live thus mewed up within their own contracted territories, and will not look abroad

beyond the boundaries that chance, conceit or laziness has set to their inquiries, but live separate from the notions, discourses, and attainments of the rest of mankind, may not amiss be represented by the inhabitants of the Marian Islands, who, being separated by a large tract of sea from all communion with the inhabitable parts of the earth, thought themselves the only people of the world."*

Insanity, according to Locke, is a preternatural fervour of the imagination, not altogether destructive of the reasoning powers, but producing wrongly combined ideas, and making right reductions from wrong data; while idiotcy can neither distinguish, compare, or abstract general ideas.

"In short, herein lies the difference," says Locke, "between idiots and madmen—that madmen put wrong ideas together, and so make wrong propositions; while idiots make very few or no propositions, and reason scarce at all. They err as men who do argue right from wrong principles, for by the violence of their imaginations having taken their fancies for realities, they make right deductions from them. Thus you shall find a distracted man fancying himself king, with a right inference require suitable attendance, respect, and obedience; others who have thought themselves made of glass, have used the caution necessary to preserve such brittle bodies. Hence it comes to pass that a man who is

* Locke, Conduct of the Understanding, Essays, &c. vol. ii. p. 328.

very sober, and of a right understanding in all other things, may in one particular, be as frantic as any in Bedlam, if either by any sudden very strong impression, or long fixing his fancy upon one sort of thoughts, incoherent ideas have been cemented together so powerfully as to remain united. But there are degrees of madness as of folly. This disorder, by jumbling together of ideas, is in some more and in some less."*

"This subject," says Dr. James Johnson, "is far from being uninteresting to the medical practitioner. It is his duty and his interest to study man in health, aa well as in sickness—and to watch the workings of mind as well as matter, in the human microcosm. Physicians (by which we mean medical men of all descriptions) have lost much in public estimation, by directing their attention too exclusively to disorders of the corporeal fabric, and by thinking it an extra-professional labour to study the moral part of our nature. The physician in fact has infinitely greater, better, and more numerous opportunities of acquiring an intimate knowledge of metaphysics than the divine or the moral philosopher; and, whenever he has directed his attention to these subjects he has excelled in them. The immortal Locke is a sufficient example."†

Cullen, in his definition of insanity in his "First

* Essay on the Human Understanding, Chap. of Discerning.

† Med. Chir. Review, October, 1833.

Lines," describes the mental condition of the insane —"in a person awake, a false, or mistaken judgment of those relations of things which, as occurring most frequently in life, are those about which the generality of men form the same judgment, and particularly when the judgment is very different from what the person himself had before usually formed. . . . .

"There is generally some false perception of external objects, and such false perception necessarily occasions a delirium or erroneous judgment, which is considered as the disease."

But this definition of insanity, like that of Locke, is far too limited, and only includes one of many forms of insanity—namely, Monomania or partial insanity.

Dr. Pritchard, in his great work on Insanity, observes:—"Writers on disorders of the mind have frequently remarked that it is difficult to furnish a definition of insanity which may enable us at once to recognize when it exists, and to distinguish it from all other conditions, whether of health or of disease. So great, indeed, has this difficulty appeared to some authors, that by them it has been thought better to lay aside such an attempt."*

"*It has been said with perfect accuracy, that insanity is a disorder of the system, by which the*

* A Treatise on Insanity," &c. by Dr. J. C. Pritchard, London, 1835. Introd. ch. p. 1.

sound and healthy exercise of the mental faculties is impeded and disturbed."

"The definitions adopted by several modern writers, though expressed in various terms, have nearly this meaning," we are told by Dr. Pritchard. But he admits that any endeavour to define insanity in the most simple and obvious terms which suggest themselves, is found to afford no satisfactory result, and a like disappointment has ensued on every similar attempt.

All the forms of madness, denominated *Monomania, Mania,* and *Dementia,* are classified by Dr. Pritchard under two heads, namely, *Moral Insanity* and *Intellectual Insanity.*

1. *Moral Insanity,* consisting in a morbid condition of the affective faculties and feelings, perversion of all affections, moral sentiments, dispositions, and natural impulses, "without any remarkable disorder or defect of the intellect or reasoning faculties, and particularly without any insane illusion or hallucination."*

2. *Intellectual Insanity,* including "*Monomania,* or partial insanity, in which the imagination is partially affected, or under the influence of some particular illusion, referring to one subject and involving one train of ideas, while the intellectual powers appear, when exercised on other subjects, to be in a great measure unimpaired."

* Pritchard on Insanity, p. 6.

3. *Mania*, or raving madness, in which there is general derangement of the understanding, total loss or long continued suspension of the reasoning faculties, incessant morbid excitement, and unvarying absurdity on every subject.

4. *Dementia*, or Incoherence; (generally considered a result and sequel of Mania, but as Pinel and Pritchard think, a distinct form of madness, because having its peculiar characteristic symptoms from the beginning, or at least from a very early period of the disorder). As Pinel describes it, "Rapid succession or uninterrupted alternation of ideas, and evanescent and unconnected emotions,—continually repeated acts of absurdity,—complete forgetfulness of every previous state,—diminished sensibility to external impressions,—abolition of the faculty of judgment, and perpetual activity."

There are, moreover, two states of mental incapability which take away the character of accountability from the actions of individuals.

1. *Congenital Idiotcy*, a state of inaptitude from birth to retain, connect, or compare ideas, or which is the result of disease or injury to the cerebral organs.

2. *Senile Imbecility*, or fatuity, a sort of middle state between idiotcy and the mediocrity of mind belonging to ordinary intelligence, incidental to old age.

But the fact is, with the exception of the two last mentioned conditions, all the different forms of

mental derangement differ in degree, and not in origin. "We may then describe," says Pritchard, "insanity as a chronic disease, manifested by deviations from the healthy and natural state of the mind; such deviations consisting either in a *moral perversion*, or a disorder of the feelings, affections, and habits of the individual, or in *intellectual derangement*, which last is sometimes partial, namely, in *monomania*, affecting the understanding only in particular trains of thought; or general and unaccompanied with excitement, namely, in *mania* or *raving madness;* or, lastly, confounding or destroying the connections or associations of ideas, and producing a state of *incoherence.*"*

Softening of the Brain.—There is a diseased state of the brain, not mentioned in any of the preceding notices, which may exist for years without mania, but which eventually terminates in loss of memory, impaired judgment, or fatuity.

One of the most common diseases of persons, who have long and arduously employed their intellectual faculties in literary labour—or studious pursuits of any kind; and especially of those whose brain has been overwrought, and themselves at the same time have been beset with mental anxiety, pecuniary cares, and all the turmoil of fierce competition in their particular calling, is softening of the brain. One of the first symptoms of this disease is insomnolence, and, perhaps, the next

* "A Treatise on Insanity," by Dr. Pritchard, p. 7.

most obvious one, is the confusion of recalled ideas, caused by impaired memory. These symptoms should be early noticed and duly received as warnings of incipient disease; and, when attended to, the malady in its early stage may be checked.

Softening of the brain and its symptoms are sometimes compared with the results of senile inertness of the functions of the brain.

"In extreme old age, which variously expresses, through the effects of gradual change, the more sudden but transient anticipations of disease, there appears to exist not merely an impairment of the powers of perception and volition, but also of those actions, whatever their nature, upon which association and suggestion depend. The train of thought may be just in its order and conclusions, but it is more slowly pursued."

The same observation might be justly applied to the mental peculiarities of the temperament called the lymphatic—the slowness to perceive and will, and the difficulty experienced in the more complex operations of association and suggestion.

Esquirol (Maladies Mentales) treats of hallucinations of the mind, which he denominates *Manie sans Delire.*

Mental derangement and madness (properly so called) are very different states of mental disease. A man may labour under symptoms like those of Nicholas of Berlin and Dr. Bertin, fancying they

see persons, who have no existence but in their diseased sensorium, and while these spectral illusions last, mental derangement to a certain degree exists; but as there was a conviction or reflexion in the minds of the persons thus affected that these appearances or apparitions were the creations only of a morbid state of the functions of certain organs, they were not mad; to use Dr. Conolly's words, "They never believed in their real existence." They compared the usual objects of delusion with the impressions of other senses. The want of power or resolution to examine them would have been an evidence of madness.

Calmeil, the enlightened physician of the lunatic asylum of Charenton, referring to the impossibility of accurately defining insanity, observes, "La folie ne peut pas se definir pas plus que la raison."* There is, in the manner of perceiving, of feeling, of judging, of reasoning of each individual; in the mode of regulating his propensities, tastes, inclinations, and affections; of calculating his determinations; in the drift and direction of his most trivial actions, and even in the expression of his features and the character of his movements, some peculiarity which indicates that the harmony of the reasoning power is undisturbed or that it is impaired.

In a state of health the perfect and uniform

* De la Folie. Tome i. Introd.

relation always subsists which ought to exist between the qualities of things, which make an impression on the senses, and the nature of sensations which arise in the brain, from the action of material objects on the nerves. Hence all men, thus happily constituted in the exercise of a sound judgment, judge nearly alike of simple, distinct objects, sounds, and odours: and reason in the same manner on all essential points in regard to the duties of parents, friends, members of a community; on the dangers of unrestrained passions, and the advantages of a state of life exempt from great physical privations or moral mischiefs. But once that equilibrium ceases to exist, the senses no longer convey just impressions to the sensorium, and imagination, morbidly affected, lends form, colour, animation, and activity, to ideas which are then formed in the brain, refers them to sensations, and the result of these erroneous reasonings are hallucinations or fixed ideas, which have no foundation in facts or objects represented to the understanding. "Un fois que les facultés de l'ame et de l'entendement se trouvent bouleversées par la maladie, l'*homme* ne peut plus compter sur la fidelité de ses sens, sur la justice de ses idées, de ses jugemens, de ses raisonnemens; il ne peut plus se fier aux motifs sur lesquels se fondent sa joie, sa tristesse, son amour, sa haine, sa colère, se fier aux motifs qui font qu'il agit d'une manière plutôt que d'une autre." *

* "De La Folie considerée sous le point de vue Pathologique,

"We cannot better describe the mental life of man," says Dr. Holland, "than as embodied in a succession of acts or states of consciousness, so continuous as to give and maintain the sense of personal identity."*

Whatever serious disturbance then that succession meets with, and the maintenance likewise of that sense of personal identity suffers, tends to produce a state of mind that is abnormal.

We find the same effects produced by certain narcotics and diffusible stimulants — remarkable rapidity of succession of ideas—produced also by acute mania.

The celebrated Robert Hall was temporarily afflicted with mania, on his recovery he observed to a friend: "You, with the rest of my friends, tell me that I was only seven weeks in confinement, and the date of the year corresponds, so that I am bound to believe you; but they have appeared to me like seven years. My mind was so excited, and my imagination so lively and acute, that more ideas passed through my mind during those seven weeks than in any seven years of my life."

What appeared to Robert Hall a result of mania, is found, in a vast number of instances, one of its

Philosophique Historique et Judiciare, depuis La Renaissance des Sciences en Europe jusqu'au 19 Siecle:" "Description des Grandes Epidemies de delire," &c. Par L. F. Calmeil, Doct. en Med. Medecin De la Maison des Alienès de Charenton. En 2 Tomes, 8vo. Paris, 1845. Vol. i. p. 2.

* Mental Physiology, Sir H. Holland, p. 47.

most predisposing causes; namely inordinate mental activity, implying extraordinary rapidity of succession of ideas. But there is another occasion of injury to the mind not less signal, and certain to be ultimately mischievous to it—premature and forced development of the mental faculties in youth.

The seeds of monomania are very frequently sown in early life. The terrible mischief done to the intellectual faculties of the young by inordinate mental labour, by forcing its growth unnaturally, and most unprofitably as it generally turns out in the long run, is thus noticed in a recent treatise by the most eminent of English physicians; one of forty years experience in the profession he ennobles —Sir Henry Holland:

"It is a fact well attested by experience, that the memory may be seriously, sometimes lastingly injured, by pressing upon it too hardly and continuously in early life.

"Whatever theory we hold as to this great function of our nature, it is certain that its powers are only gradually developed, and that if forced into premature exercise, they are impaired by the effort. This is a maxim, indeed, of general import, applying to the condition and culture of every faculty of body and mind; but singularly, to the one we are now considering, which forms in one sense the foundation of intellectual life. A regulated exercise, short of actual fatigue, enlarges the capacity both as to reception and retention; and gives promp-

titude as well as clearness to its action. But we are bound to refrain from goading it by constant and laborious efforts in early life, and before the instrument has been strengthened to its work, or it decays under our hands."

The muscles, nevertheless, of the body are not more invigorated by exercise, than the memory is strengthened by it.

There is no faculty of the mind more susceptible of improvement than that of memory: and early development of its powers, is most obvious in young people at their entrance into life. The exercise of memory in early life in getting off by heart pieces of poetry, passages of orations, learning by rote singular narratives and striking episodes in history is said to be an indispensable training: but the improvement of one faculty should not be at the expense of the other powers.

Crime and insanity have many features in common. Lord Hale was not *wholly* wrong when he declared: "All crime to be the result of a partial madness."

But if he argued that all crime on any such hypothesis was unpunishable, and that the accountability of all criminals ceased when the eccentricity of their conduct, or the turpitude of their actions denoted some slight degree of delirium, partial or evanescent, the doctrine would be something more than an absurdity: it would be a premium on crime and a guarantee of impunity to criminals.

Dr. Forbes Winslow, a writer of high authority on all subjects bearing on psychological and medical subjects; a man of great powers of intellect, deeply imbued with a philosophical spirit, and not deterred by Locke, and other metaphysical writers of his school, from controverting the doctrine of the non-existence of innate ideas, observes: "There are certain intuitive principles appertaining to each individual, which independent of education, give a natural bias, and sometimes a premature development to certain faculties." The tendency may be to good or evil, but though education may not have created it, its controlling power cannot be called in question.

Dr. Forbes Winslow has contrived to compress into a short sentence a vast deal of truth, wisdom and philosophy; derived from deep research, large experience duly enlightened, and knowledge of human nature, and its relations to a present and a future life.

"*The chief means of controlling the passions,* and of keeping them within just bounds, is to form a proper estimate of the things of this life, and of the relation of our present to a future state of existence, and of the influence which our actions in this world will have on our happiness hereafter."

Dr. Forbes Winslow, in reference to the acts of men, "the records of whose lives form the dark scenes of history, and present to the world a continuous career of morbid selfishness, crime, cupidity, caprice,

tyranny, brutality, and vice," asks—"May not all these monstrous departures from ordinary and healthy modes of thought, impulse and action, constitute evidence, not only of depravity and vice in their ordinary signification, *but of undetected, unperceived, unrecognized mental disease, in all probability arising from cerebral irritation, or physical ill-health.*"*

Many a grave error and grievous consequence in judicial affairs and those connected with medical jurisprudence may be attributed to ignorance of, or inattention to this truth. And as Dr. Conolly so truly remarks, "how few can sincerely say, that in themselves no foibles or imperfections, no passions or heedless impulse, no sins, presumptuous or concealed, exist, which in certain circumstances might not have led to sorrow, or never ending regret or despair, to crime or to shame."†

Monomania.—The various combinations are innumerable, of that partial delirium formerly called Melancholia, which is accompanied with hallucinations of the senses, particular illusions, and strange sensations; and with fixed ideas on matters connected with those illusions, formed on false data, by individuals who have become incapable of reasoning

* Lettsomian Lecture, by Dr. Forbes Winslow.

† Croonian Lecture. See Article on Dr. Joseph Williams's work on the Soundness of Mind in its Mental and Legal Considerations. Dub. Quar. Journal Med. Sc. Nov. 1854.

correctly on such subjects, while in other respects they betray no palpable disorder of mind.

"The notion, however," observes Dr. Pritchard, "which many persons entertain as to the nature of this disease is far from being correct in its full extent. It is supposed that the mind of the monomaniac is perfectly sound, when its faculties are exercised on any subject unconnected with a particular impression which in itself constitutes the entire disease. Cases are indeed on record, which, if faithfully related, fully come up to this description. In general, the real character of monomania is very different. The individual affected, is under ordinary circumstances, calm, and exhibits no symptom of that perturbation and constant excitement which are observed in raging madness. But on careful inquiry it will be found that his mind is in many respects in a different condition from that of perfect health. The habits and disposition have perhaps been longer in a greater or less degree in the state which characterizes insanity. If we advert to the order and connection of morbid phenomena, we often learn that on a sudden and habitual melancholy, or on a morose and sullen misanthropy, long growing and indulged, or in some other disordered and perverted state of the feelings and affections, a particular illusion has more recently supervened . . . The disease in these cases has its real commencement long before the period when the particular illusion which is only an accessory symptom, is

discovered, and even before it became impressed on the imagination; but it is not until that impression has taken place that the case assumes the proper character of monomania."*

A writer on the influence of the mind on the body,† practically well acquainted with his subject, aims at demonstrating the influence of the mind, through the instrumentality of the brain, in deranging the bodily functions, especially those of the stomach. He does not deny the reaction of the dyspeptic disorders on the brain and on the mind; but he wishes to make them appear insignificant, compared with the reverse. One of the great philosophers of antiquity maintained that all disorders of the body originate in the mind—and one of the latest writers on dyspepsia has stated that—"the operation of physical causes, numerous as these are, dwindles into complete insignificance, when compared with that of anxiety or tribulation of mind." Irritability of the brain, according to Mr. Fletcher, has much to do with the sufferings of those labouring under hypochondria. In this form of cerebral disease, he says, "There is, generally, no delirium, the pulse is small and quick; the patient is not

* "A Treatise on Insanity and other Disorders affecting the Mind. By James Cowles Pritchard, M.D., F.R.S." London, 8vo. 1835, p. 27.

† "Sketches from the Case Book, to illustrate the Influence of the Mind on the Body," &c. by R. Fletcher, Esq. Surgeon to the Gloucester General Hospital, and Consulting Surgeon to the Lunatic Asylum, near Gloucester, 8vo. 1833.

thirsty,—he has none of the symptoms called fever: his face and eyes, though sometimes possessing a wild expression, are not red or flushed, but he cannot sleep well generally, as the slightest circumstance alarms and excites him.

"So far for the bodily symptoms which have periods of remission, and which are varied in force or number in different patients, probably an effect of the more or less intense mental suffering in different characters, and which suffering is the source of the phenomena. The condition of the mind is still more remarkable; its functions are unnaturally disturbed, or in morbid excess; but not generally to the extent of insanity, though often bordering upon it."

Mental derangement may exist to a certain extent, we are told by a physician of great authority on all subjects connected with mental disorders, Dr. Conolly, without constituting insanity in the usual sense of the word.*

A person may be subject to illusions of the organs of sense or sound for a considerable time without being insane, but these illusions, however, may be the result of insanity.

"Mental aberration," says Dr. Conolly, "is the impairment of one or more of the faculties of the mind, accompanied with, or inducing a defect in the comparative faculty."

When dominant fixed ideas of a particular train

* "Inquiry concerning the Indications of Insanity. By John Conolly, M.D."

that have ultimately become permanently erroneous and extravagant, are joined with hallucinations of the senses, the diseased condition of the mind is that of monomania.

This partial mania may be either moral or intellectual, generally it is both at the same time, either the injury done to the moral sentiments, involves the judgment in its mischief, or the alienation of the judgment, leads to that of the affective faculties. In the intellectual monomania, we find the individual capable of reasoning justly on subjects not connected with the subject of his delirium. In the moral monomania, we generally find the moral sentiments and natural affections perverted. The power of the passions, especially of pride, hatred, jealousy, vengeance, increased beyond bounds.

But in both kinds of monomania partial hallucination confined to a particular sense, or connected with a particular train of ideas rarely continues long thus limited. The other senses generally become gradually affected. But there are several notable instances of men of intellectual celebrity, labouring under a particular hallucination for many years.

In this partial mania the turn of the prevailing ideas appears permanently influenced by the nature of the hallucinations which first troubled the imaginations of the sufferers. The delirium is accordingly gay, sad, daring, and aspiring, or of a fanatical kind, as the visions and phantasies of the person at the beginning of the mental disorder may have exhibited

themselves, and is manifested by the sensations which seem to have affected the senses of hearing, of smell, and touch.

Illusions from perversion of the internal sensations are productive of hallucinations.

"Insane persons (says Esquirol) fancy they see, hear, smell, taste, and touch, although external objects are not presented to their senses, and are, consequently, incapable of producing any impression upon them. This symptom is an intellectual phenomenon, totally independent of the organs of sense, and takes place although they may be inactive, or have even ceased to exist. Thus, there are deaf persons who fancy they hear, blind ones who think they see, &c. &c. The ancients had only observed this symptom, as far as it related to the remembrance of the sensations of sight, and had given it the name of *Vision*. But the analysis of the thoughts of the insane, for they do think and reason, has proved to me that this phenomenon is produced by the action of the brain, reacting upon the sensations previously received by the other senses, as well as by that of sight. This has led me to give to this phenomenon the generic name of *Hallucinations*. In the same paper in which I pointed out one of the most remarkable psychological pheonomena of delirium, I related some facts which shew that the hallucinations alone, sometimes, characterize a variety of monomania."

M. Esquirol makes a marked distinction between hallucinations, or visions, and illusions.

"In hallucinations, every thing passes within the brain: visionaries, and persons under the influence of extatic impressions, are hallucinarians; they dream even when they are awake. The activity of the brain is so energetic in them, that they give form and reality to the images which the memory re-produces, without the aid of the senses.

"In illusions, on the contrary, the sensibility of the nervous extremities is excited, the senses are active, and actual impressions produce the reaction of the brain. This reaction being under the influence of the ideas and passions, which govern the insane, they are deceived as to the nature and cause of their actual sensations. Illusions are not uncommon in a state of health, but reason dissipates them. A square tower seen from a distance appears round, but if we approach it, the error is soon rectified. When we travel amongst mountains we often take them for clouds, but on looking attentively, the error is dissipated. To him, who is in a boat, the bank appears to move, reflection immediately destroys the illusion."

Hypochondriacs, he observes, have illusions which arise from the internal senses. They deceive themselves with respect to the intensity of their feelings; but do not attribute their ailments to absurd causes, nor talk irrationally, unless affected with melancholia in addition, when there is delirium.

"Two conditions are necessary for the perception of a sensation; the soundness of the organ which

receives the impression, and the soundness of the instrument that reacts upon it.

"The illusions of the senses recognize, also, two causes; a disordered state of the senses, and a disordered state of the brain.

"If the sensibility and activity of the organs are disturbed, it is evident that the impressions made upon the senses, by external objects, are modified; and if, at the same time, the brain is in a state of disease, it is incapable of rectifying the errors of the senses. From these causes arise illusions."

Illusions from perversion of the external senses are manifested by the insane, when they imagine they hear strange noises, fancy some one speaks to them, and answer as if questions had been addressed to them.

The deranged person whom Esquirol designates the *panaphobist*, thinks he is spoken to in reproachful or menacing terms; takes an insignificant phrase for evidence of a plot against him; fancies he hears enemies, police agents, and assassins concerting measures for his destruction; is terrified by the opening of a door, and looks for the appearance of foes and conspirators.

"Almost always, (says Esquirol) at the commencement, and generally in the course of mental diseases, the digestive functions are primarily or secondarily affected. Such patients perceive a bad taste in the food that is offered to them, which makes them conclude that it is poisoned, and they reject

it with anger or with terror. This phenomenon gives rise to an aversion, on the part of the sick, to those persons who have the care of them, and which is still more marked towards those who are most dear and most devoted to them."

The following are the conclusions of Esquirol from the preceding observations:

"1st. That illusions are caused by internal and external sensations.

"2nd. That they are the result of the sentient extremities, and of the re-action of the nervous centre.

"3rd. That they are as often caused by the excitement of the internal, as by that of the external senses.

"4th. That they cannot be confounded with hallucinations, (visions,) since in the latter cases the brain only is excited.

"5th. That illusions lead the judgment astray respecting the nature and cause of the impressions actually received, and urge the insane to acts dangerous to themselves and to others.

"6th. That sex, education, profession, and habits, by modifying the reaction of the brain, modify also the character of the illusions.

"7th. That illusions assume the character of the passions, and of the ideas which govern the insane.

"8th. That reason dissipates the illusions of the man of sound mind, whilst it is not powerful enough to destroy those of the insane."*

* "Observations on the Illusions of the Insane, and on the

"On a decrit (says Calmeil) beaucoup de phenomènes qui supposent un haut degrè d'aliènation des qualitès du cœur et de l'ame. L'etude du passè nous prouvera malheureusement que les types de la monomanie incendiare, de la monomanie homicide, de la monomanie religieuse sont bien loin, d'etre nouveaux. On peut si l'on veut, diviser la monomanie morale en affective et instructive; mais encore une fois en y regardent de près, on s'apercoit bientot que l'intellect, n'est pas aussi souvent epargnè qu'on a ete portè a le croire dans chacun de ces soùs genres de folie."*

Some of the remarkable forms under which Monomania manifests itself, we find described under the terms—

Lipothymia.—A state of syncope or rapture similar to that of somnambulism, connected with cerebral diseases, or identical with that stage of somnambulism spoken of by writers on animal magnetism as a temporary separation of the soul from the body, of frequent return and often at fixed periods.

Nostalgia.—Vehement, painful, and morbid feelings of uncontrollable desire to return to one's country when absent from it, disturbing reason during

Medico-legal Question of their Confinement. Translated from the French of M. Esquirol, Medecin en Chef de la Maison Royale de Charenton, Membre du Conseil de Salubrité, &c. &c. &c. by William Liddell, Member of the Royal College of Surgeons, &c." Octavo, Renshaw and Rush, 1833.

* Des Grandes Epidemies de Delire, Tome 1. p. 80.

the access of those paroxysms of pining melancholy, characterized by weariness of life, listlessness, loss of appetite and insomnolence.

Erotomania.—Love madness, characterized by melancholy, hallucinations of the senses and imagination, incommunicativeness, suicidal tendencies.

A species of temporary madness, arising from local irritability, characterized by hysterical symptoms strongly marked, and perversion of moral feelings, is designated by another name.

Homicidal-mania.—A blind headlong phrenzy, prompting to outrageous violence, similar to that delirium of a furious nature, produced in the East, by smoking *hashis*, or in the field of battle in the midst of carnage, which incites a wild rage and enthusiasm for slaughter: an access of sudden delirium which drives its victim through scenes of bloodshed and brutal violence, not to avenge injury or even supposed injury or insult, but to obey the impulses of an ungovernable driftless fury.

Incendiarism-mania.—A rage for the destruction of property, associated with some delirious ideas of the striking appearances of suddenly kindled fire, and the irresistible power of rushing flames.

Chorea-mania.—A convulsive, nervous disorder, attended with a rage of saltation, and violent muscular exercise. The milder form of it, denominated St. Vitus' dance, prevailed not extensively in particular localities at distant intervals; but in its intensity, as it existed epidemically in the mountains

of Cevennes, in Belgium, and other countries south and east of Germany. A formidable disease associated with a phrenzy of desire for the sounds of music, and an enthusiastic exultation in them.

But the forms of Monomania which, prevailing epidemically at different periods and during a considerable lapse of time, have been productive of the greatest calamities and sufferings to mankind, are included in the following four categories:

Theomania—characterized by exaltation of ideas appertaining to supernatural influences, an unreasoning belief in communication with angels, in celestial signs and sounds and portents; or in the possession of the power of prediction; and accompanied by raptures, somnambulism, convulsive symptoms, ecstasy, hysteria.

Demonolatria—characterized by belief and participation in demon worship, witchcraft and sorcery, compacts entered into with devils, a disposition to outrage holy things and places, to deny the existence of God, to blaspheme His name, to commit all sorts of enormities in honour of the devil.

Demonomania or *Demonopathy*—characterized by the fear of possession by evil spirits—frequently connected with catalepsy, hysteria, and convulsions of extraordinary violence, distorting the features, twisting the frame, and throwing the whole body into contortions; Chorea, or uncontrollable dancing and jumping propensities.

Lycanthropy or *Zoanthropy*.—This species of

demoniacal madness is characterized by belief in diabolical transportations of human beings into wild beasts, wolves, cats, and owls, the former especially, in their nocturnal courses, having the privilege of tearing the flesh of men and animals.

"Almost everything," says Calmeil, "that we hear of invocations of spirits, apparitions, obsessions, ghosts, spectres, shadows, of *Simulacres*, familiar Genii, phantoms, *Manes*, *Lares*, hobgoblins, bewitched children, possessed persons, vampyres, fantastic visions, *Incubi* and *Succubi* has had its birth in the brains of people labouring under hallucinations:—les hallucinations n'ont pas donc contribué pour peu a peupler le monde des prodigès."*

* Des Grandes Epidemies de Delire. Tome i. p. 6.

CHAPTER III.

THE SORCERY OF ANCIENT TIMES AND ITS RELATIONS TO MODERN WITCHCRAFT—AGENCY OF EVIL SPIRITS—THE DEMON OF SOCRATES.

In this work, it is not intended, or aimed at, to give a history of Magic, or to enter even into a brief account of the different forms of it, which prevailed in various countries at different periods. The object of the writer is to point out plainly and intelligibly, the grievous results in former ages of the bewilderments of the human mind; and of the lamentable ignorance on the part of men of medical science, jurists, and writers on ecclesiastical jurisprudence, which formerly prevailed in relation to several epidemic mental disorders, attributed to diabolical agency, and the malign influences of sorcerers.

In carrying this object into effect, it is necessary to refer to the opinions that prevailed in remote times on the subject of sorcery, and to shew what amount of influence they may have had in giving a local form, outward aspect, and inward character, to the phenomena, which, in our times, pass under the denomination of operations and effects of witchcraft.

It is evident that the Fathers of the early Christian Church concurred in the opinion that the gods of

paganism were identical with demons: that heathens in worshipping the gods were not only idolators, but *Demonolatres.*

Like all general propositions, exceedingly extensive and indiscriminate, in this particular assertion it will probably be found that a good many fallacies are founded on a few leading incontrovertible facts. In the origin of the worship of false gods—the tendencies of human nature towards hero-worship, no doubt played an important part. We are called on to believe too much, however, when required to subscribe to the opinion that demons alone furnished the Pantheon with altars, and that the grateful remembrance of benign advantages, and heroic services rendered to a country and its people by an exalted chief, or virtuous ruler, had no share in the motives which led to his traditional renown and apotheosis.

Alexander Von Humboldt, ascribes the tendencies to idolatry, in part at least, to the intimate communion with external nature and the deep emotions it inspires. The naturalism and rationalism of Humboldt's philosophy condescended not to take into account the influences of original sin, and the tendencies thereof, to the bewilderments of human reason.

We find amongst the most savage nations, a secret and "terror mingled presentiment of the unity of natural forces, blending with the dim perception of an invisible and spiritual world, manifesting itself through these forces, whether in unfolding

the flower and perfecting the fruit of the food bearing tree, or in the subterranean movements which shake the ground, and the tempests which agitate the air. . . ."—"It is in the intimate communion with external nature, and the deep emotions it inspires, that we may also trace in part the first tendencies to the deification, and worship of the destroying and preserving powers of nature."*

Tertullian, in his Apology for the Christians, addressing himself to the Paganism of his time, says:

"Hitherto I have argued upon points of reason, and contented myself with words only; I come now to things, and shall give you a demonstration from fact to convince you, that your gods and demons both, are but the same beings, though of different denominations. Let a demoniac therefore be brought into Court, and the spirit which possesses him be commanded by any Christian to declare what he is, he shall confess himself as truly to be a devil, as he did falsely before profess himself a God."†

"Tertullian challenges the senses of Pagans, their eyes and their ears to be judges in the case; he defies them to deny it if they can; and is ready to answer for the experiment with his own blood, that their Celestial Virgin, their Æsculapius, and all the rest of those they worship for gods, shall not only

* Cosmos, by A. Von Humboldt, 7th ed. 1847, p. 16.

† Tertullian's Apology for the Christians, translated by the Rev. W. Reeves, M.A., London, 2nd ed. 1716.

quit the bodies they possess, but publicly in the hearing of them all, confess themselves to be devils, upon the demand of any Christian. His scholar, St. Cyprian, says to Demetrianus, Proconsul of Africa, upon the same subject, 'O si audire eos velles, et videre quando a nobis adjurantur, et torquentur spiritualibus flagris, et verborum tormentis de obsessis corporibus ejiciuntur, quando ejulantes et gementes voce humanâ, et potestate divinâ flagella et verbera sentientes, venturum judicium confitentur; veni, et cognosce vera esse quæ dicimus.' And a little after, 'videbis sub manu nostrâ stare vinctos, et tremere captivos quos tu suspicis, et veneraris ut Dominos.' Lactantius speaks to the same purpose, de Just. lib. 5. c. 21. All the primitive Fathers assert the same fact, with the same assurance."*

"Plato," continues Tertullian, "is express for the being of angels, and the magicians are ready to attest the same, when they have recourse to the names of angels and demons both in their enchantments. But how from a corrupted stock of angels, corrupted by their own wills, another worse and more degenerate† race of demons arose, condemned

* Translator's Note.

† "Sed quomodo de angelis quibusdam sua sponte corruptis, corruptior gens dæmonum evaserit," &c. This odd opinion we find both in the Apologies of Justin Martyr, as well as in this of Tertullian, and so likewise in Athenagoras, &c. The ground of it I take to be this: the Fathers were generally of opinion, that

by God, together with those they descended from, and Satan the prince of them, for the history of this, I say, I must refer you to the Holy Scriptures.

"But not to insist upon their generation, it will be sufficient to my purpose to explain their operations, or their ways of acting upon the sons of men. I say, then, that the ruin of mankind is their whole employment, these malicious spirits were bent upon mischief from the beginning, and fatally auspicious in their first attempt, in undoing man as soon as he was made; and in like manner they practise the same destructive methods upon all his posterity, by inflicting diseases upon their bodies, and throwing them into sad disasters, and stirring up sudden tempests and preternatural emotions in the soul; and they are fitted by nature for both these kinds of evil, the subtlety and fineness of their substance giving them an easy access to body and soul both. These spirits certainly have great abilities for

evil spirits were clothed with a finer sort of body, which was fed and refreshed with the odours and steams of the sacrifices. They found these spirits had a prodigious power over the bodies they possessed, and could not certainly tell but this power might extend even to generation; and finding in Josephus, lib. i. cap. 4, πολλὸν ἄγγελοι θεοῦ, &c. *that many angels of God mixing with women begot a devilish wicked offspring*, and perhaps meeting likewise an ancient edition of the Septuagint, which read ἄγγελοι where we read οἱ υἱοὶ τοῦ θεοῦ, *the angels of God*, instead of *the sons of God, went into the daughters of men*, Gen. vi. 4. And meeting perhaps with something of the same nature in that supposititious piece, which went under the name of Enoch's Prophecy, they might by these means be led into this mistake."

mischief, and that they do it is apparent, though the manner of effecting it is invisible, and out of the reach of human senses; as, for instance, when a secret blast nips the fruit in the blossom or the bud, or smites it with an untimely fall just upon its maturity, or when the air is infected by unknown causes, and scatters the deadly potions about the world; just so, and by a contagion that walketh in the like darkness, do demons and evil angels blast the minds of men, and agitate them with furies and extravagant uncleannesses, and dart in outrageous lusts with a mixture of various errors; the most capital of which errors is, that having taken possession of a soul, and secured it on every side from the powers of truth, they recommend to it the worship of false gods, that by the odours of those sacrifices they may procure a banquet for themselves, the smell of the flesh and the fumes of the blood being the proper pabulum or repast of those unclean spirits; and what more savoury meat to them than to juggle men out of the notion of the true God with delusions of divinations, which delusions I come now to unfold.

"Every spirit, angel, and demon, upon the account of its swiftness, may be said to be winged, for they can be here and there and everywhere in a moment; the whole world to them is but as one place, and any transactions in it they can know with the same ease they can tell it; and this velocity passes for divinity among such as are unacquainted with the nature of

spirits; and by this means they would be concluded the authors of those things sometimes, of which they are only the relators; and verily sometimes they are the authors of the evil, but never of the good. They have collected some designs of Providence from the mouths of the Prophets; and to those sermons whose sound has gone into all the earth do they apply at present, to pick out something whereby to form their conjectures about events to come; and so, by filching from hence some revolutions which have succeeded in time, they rival the Divinity, and set up for gods, by stealing his prophecies. But in their oracles, what dexterity they have shewed in tempering their responses with a convenient ambiguity for any question, the Crœsuses and the Pyrrhuses know too well. It was by virtue of the forementioned velocity, that Pythian Apollo, scudding through the air in a moment to Lydia, brought back word that Crœsus was boiling a tortoise with the flesh of a lamb. Moreover, these demons, by having their residence in the air, and by reason of their neighbourhood and commerce with the stars and clouds, come to know the dispositions of the heavens, and promise rain which they see falling when they promise. These demons, likewise, are very beneficent, no doubt, in the cure of diseases, for they first inflict the malady, and then prescribe the remedy, but remedies marvellously strange and contrary to the distemper; and after the patient has

used the receipt, the demon omits to afflict him, and that omission passes for a cure."*

Justin Martyr, concerning Demons, their power, and way of operation, observes: "But first, I am to caution you against those spirits, which I have already accused for practising upon you, that they do not delude and pervert you from reading and understanding what I am now proposing to your consideration; (for to hold you in slavery and bondage is the prize they contend for, and sometimes by visions in sleep, sometimes by magical impostures, they make sure of all such as are little concerned about their salvation) I could wish you would follow our example, who by the persuasions of the Logos have revolted from these spiritual wickednesses, and come over to the obedience of the only unbegotten God, through his Son Jesus Christ."†

"Turn back your thoughts upon the past emperors, and you will find they all died like other men; and could you but discover one to be in a state of insensibility, you would make a welcome discovery to the wicked world: but since all departed souls continue in sensation, and everlasting fire is treasured up for the unrighteous, let me advise you to look well about you, and lay these things seri-

* Tertullian's Apology, pp. 249, &c.

† Justin Martyr, Apology for the Christian Religion, translated from Dr. Grabe's Oxford Edition, by the Rev. William Reeves, A.M. Lond. 2nd Edition, 1716. Vol. i. p. 33.

ously to heart. For even necromancy, and the inspection of the entrails of sound children, and the calling out the souls of dead men, and what the magicians term dream-senders and familiars, and many other practices of the dealers in this black art, may induce you to believe that souls after death are in a state of sensation; and moreover those persons who are violently caught up, and dashed down again by departed spirits, and who pass among you all for demoniacs and mad,* and likewise the Amphilochian, Dodonean, Pythian, and other like oracles, and also the doctrines of many of your writers, such as Empedocles, Pythagoras, Plato, and Socrates, and Homer of Ulysses's visit to the infernal shades, and their confabulations with him. These, I say, all argue the immortality of human souls, and several others (are) of the same opinion as about spirits with ourselves, with whom we desire the like treatment, as having not a less but a much greater faith in God than ever they had, being under a full expectation of being restored to these bodies, though dead and rotten, because we know that nothing with God is impossible."†

"It is notorious that after Christ's ascension into Heaven, these same accursed spirits furnished out a

* Such were the two demoniacs in the country of the Gergesenes, "who came out of the tombs, exceeding fierce, so that no man might pass by that way," Matt. viii. 28; and from their dwelling only among tombs, these spirits were concluded to be the souls of dead men.

† Ib. Justin, p. 41.

set of men, who gave out themselves to be gods; and yet were you so far from punishing such villains, that you did them the greatest honour. For Simon, a certain Samaritan of the village Gitthon, who in Claudius Cæsar's time, by his magic arts with the powers of darkness, did such wonderful feats in the imperial city of Rome, that he gained the reputation of a god, and accordingly is honoured by you, like your other gods, with a statue erected upon the Tiber, between the two bridges, with this Latin inscription, *Simoni Deo Sancto, To Simon the Holy God.** And the Samaritans, almost in general, though very few of other nations, confess and worship him as the first and principal god."†

The modern necromancers of the new world will find food for reflection in those passages.

There are some remarkable passages in Lucian's dialogue, "Lovers of Lies," on the subject of necromancy, and the pretensions of its votaries. The speakers are Tychiades and Philocles. (The former is an impugner of the marvels ascribed to sorcery: the latter, Philocles, a defender of them.)

Tychiades. "Can you tell me the reason, Philocles, why most men desire to lie, and delight not

* This passage, among others, has been remarked upon by Daillè for the purpose of discrediting Justin Martyr. "The good Father," says he, "was mistaken, and instead of *Semoni*, read *Simoni*, and for *Sanco, Sancto;* whereas our learned critics now inform us, it was only an inscription to one of the Pagan Demi-Gods, *Semoni Deo Sanco.*"

† Justin Martyr's Apol. for the Christians, p. 49.

only to speak fictions themselves, but give busy attention to others who do?"

Philocles. "There be many reasons, Tychiades, which compel some men to speak untruths, because they see it is profitable."

Tychiades. "This is nothing to the purpose: my question concerned not them who lie for profit; for such deserve pardon, and some praise, who have thereby defeated their enemies, and used it as a preservative against dangers; like Ulysses, who by such sleights secured his own life, and the return of his companions. But I now speak of those, who prefer the very lie before truth, and take pleasure to busy themselves in fables, without any necessary judgment. I would fain know what motives such men have to do so?"

Philocles. "Have you met with any persons born with such a natural love to lying?"

Tychiades. "There are many such."

Philocles. "What other motive can they have not to speak truth, but their madness? Else certainly, they would never prefer the worst thing before the best."

Tychiades. "This is nothing; since I can shew you many of great discretion and wisdom in other things, who yet are captives to this delusion, and love of lies. Nor am I a little troubled to see men of excellent judgment in other things, take delight to deceive themselves and others. You cannot but know those ancients better than I; Herodotus,

Ctesias the Cnidian, and the poets before them, Homer especially; all men of great name, whose writings are stored with fictions. So that they not only deceived their hearers then, but have conveyed their lies to us also in a preserved succession of excellent poetry and verses. I cannot, therefore, but blush for them, as often as they speak of a schism in heaven, of Prometheus' chains, the giants' insurrection, and the whole tragedy of hell. How Jupiter, also, for love became a bull or swan; and how a woman was transformed into a fowl or bear. Besides their Pegasus's, Chymeras, Gorgons, Cyclops, and the like strange prodigious fables, fit only to recreate the minds of children, who yet fear goblins and fairies. But these are things tolerable in poets. How ridiculous is it that whole cities and nations should unanimously agree in a public lie?"

Tychiades. "I would fain ask you, what you think of them who have delivered demoniacs from their possessions, and have evidently charmed forth their devils. I need not tell you how many the Syrian, who came from Palestine, a man skilled in such arts, hath restored after they have fallen down lunatic, stared with their eyes, and foamed at mouth, and has sent them away cured, and released them, for great sums, of their distempers. For standing by them as they lie, he asks the evil spirit from whence he entered into the body. The possest person, mean time, is speechless, and the devil replying in Greek, or some barbarous language, tells from whence he

is, and how he entered the man; whereupon he, by adjuration and threats, if he offered to disobey, casts him out. I saw a devil cast out black, and of the colour of soot. No marvel, Ion, said I, that you saw such visions; Plato, the father of your sect, hath taught you to see ideas, a spectacle too refined and subtle for our dull sense. Many others, as well as you, Ion, said Eucrates, have met with devils, some by night, others by day; I have, not once, but a thousand times seen such spectrums; and was at first frightened with them, but custom has at length made them not strange, or unfamiliar; especially since an Arabian gave me a ring, made of the iron taken from a cross, and taught me an ambiguous, diverse sensed charm, unless you refuse to give credit to me also, Tychiades."

The Demon of Socrates.

The Demon of Socrates is referred to as a proof of the commerce of pagan philosophy with evil spirits, but in this instance, in all probability, not successfully. The *Genius* of Socrates would better convey to our minds the signification of the term applied by Socrates to that "Divinum quoddam quod Dæmonum appellat," &c.

Tertullian, in his Apology, thus endeavours to make Socrates a worshipper of devils.

"We say then that there are a certain kind of spiritual substances existing in nature, which go by the name of demons, and the name is not of a modern

stamp; the name and the thing being both well known to the philosophers, for Socrates undertook nothing without the privy council of his demon; and no wonder, when this familiar is said to have kept him close company from his childhood to the conclusion of his life, continually, no doubt, injecting dissuasives from virtue."*

Plato relates of Socrates, that when he stood before his judges, he said he had anticipated often the evils that were to be apprehended from allowing oneself to set about warring with public vices, or openly resisting injustice.

"Perhaps it may appear absurd," said Socrates, "that I going about, thus advise you in private, and make myself busy, but never venture to present myself in public before your assemblies and give advice to the city. The cause of this is, that which you have often and in many places heard me mention, *because I am moved by a certain divine and spiritual influence*, which also (my accuser) Melitus, through mockery, has set out in the indictment. *This began with me from childhood, being a kind of voice, which when present always diverts me from what I am about to do, but never urges me on.*"

"This it is," he continues, "which opposed my meddling in public politics, and it appears to me to have opposed me very properly. For be well assured, O Athenians! if I had long since attempted to intermeddle with politics, I should have perished

* Apol. Tertull., p. 247.

long ago, and should not at all have benefited you or myself. And be not angry with me for speaking the truth. For it is not possible that any man should be safe who sincerely opposes either you or any other multitude, and who prevents many unjust and illegal actions from being committed in a city: but it is necessary that he who contends for justice, if he will be safe even for a short time, should live privately and take no part in public affairs."*

Socrates assuredly was moved by "a certain divine and spiritual influence," when he gave utterance to those words of truth and wisdom. And Savonarola, we may imagine, was moved in a like manner by a certain divine and spiritual influence, when conscious of the evils of feudalism, avarice, and tyranny, which had fallen on the world, sensible of all the oppression and impieties which were done under the sun in his degenerate age, and fully alive also to the difficulty of restraining the burning indignation which he felt at those outrages, which he daily witnessed against religion, justice, and humanity, when he gave expression to those sombre thoughts of a young sick heart, which we find embodied in the Canzona "De Ruina Mundi," and determined to fly from the world, feeling there could be no safety for his virtue in it, if he opposed the multitude, or sought to prevent the many un-

* The Works of Plato. Cary's version. Lond. 12mo. 1848, vol. i. p. 19.

just and impious actions which were committed in the city he inhabited.

A man of great erudition, has ably set forth the opinion, that by the term, demon or genius of Socrates, is understood a sort of preceptor or monitor, whose counsel and assistance he is said to have experienced in the chief concerns and actions of his life. This genius suggested to him what course it was proper for him and others to avoid, and diverted him, and those who regarded his advice, from the prosecution of enterprises which would have proved prejudicial, without ever prompting him to any particular action. Cicero (De Divin. l. i.) describes this demon as "Divinum quoddam, quod dæmonum appellat, cui semper ipse paruerit, nunquam impellenti sæpe revocanti."—Plutarch and Apuleius have composed separate treatises on this genius or demon of Socrates, in which they state the sentiments of the ancients concerning its existence and nature.

The Abbé Fraguier, in a dissertation on this subject, printed in the fourth volume of the "Memoirs of the Academy of Belles Lettres," ascribes the whole of what has been said concerning the demon of Socrates, to the wisdom and prudence of that philosopher, which enabled him to foresee many things which a person of inferior discernment would never have thought of; for prudence, says Cicero, is a kind of divination. If Socrates had not intended to decline assuming to himself, the merit of an unerring judgment, by attributing it to a kind of instinct,

and if he had pretended to any extraordinary gift superior to that which is obtained from the divine wisdom by the suggestions of reason, communicated in a higher or lower degree to all mankind, would he have escaped, says Xenophon, (Memorab. l. i.) the censure of arrogance and falsehood? Thus, without mentioning any other instances, when he appears before the judges who were to condemn him, that divine voice is not heard to prevent him, as it was upon dangerous occasions; the reason is, that he did not deem it a misfortune to die, especially at his age, and in his circumstances.—Every one knows what his prognostication had been long before, upon the unfortunate expedition to Sicily. He attributed it to his demon, and declared it to be the inspiration of that spirit. A wise man, who sees an affair ill-concerted, and conducted with passion, may easily predict the event of it, without the aid of a demon's inspiration. It must be allowed, however, that the opinion which ascribed to men genii and angels for directing and guarding them, was not unknown even to the Pagans. Plutarch, (De Anim. Tranquil.) cites the verses of Menander, in which that poet expressly says, "That every man at his birth has a good genius given him, which attends him during the whole course of his life, as a guide and director." It may, therefore, be presumed, that the demon of Socrates was nothing more than the force and rectitude of his judgment, which, acting according to the rules of prudence, and with the aid

of long experience, supported by wise reflections made him foresee the events of those things, with regard to which he was either consulted by others, or deliberated upon himself.

"Timarchus," says Dr. Herbert Mayo, "who was curious on the subject of the demon of Socrates, went to the cave of Trophonius to consult the oracle about it. There, having for a short time inhaled the mephitic vapour, he felt as if he had received a sudden blow in the head, and sank down insensible. Then his head appeared to him to open and to give issue to his soul into the other world; and an imaginary being seemed to inform him, 'that the part of the soul engaged in the body, entrammelled in its organization, is the soul as ordinarily understood; but that there is another part or province of the soul which is the *daimon*. This has a certain control over the bodily soul, and among other offices constitutes conscience:'—'In three months,' the vision added, 'you will know more of this.' At the end of three months Timarchus died."*

* Herbert Mayo, M.D. "On the Truths contained in Popular Superstitions." 8vo. Frankfort, 1849, p. 73.

CHAPTER IV.

ON THE SACRIFICE OF CHILDREN ASCRIBED TO THE EARLY CHRISTIANS AS A RELIGIOUS RITE, AND TO SORCERERS IN THE ORGIA OF THEIR "SABBATH" ASSEMBLIES, AT A LATER PERIOD.

How comes it that this idea in all ages, amongst all people, has prevailed, of sorcery being connected with a rage for killing children and feasting on their flesh, or partaking of their blood, or making an ointment of the residue of those remains to enable Sortilegi, Striges, Lestrigones, Lamiæ, by friction with it, to "come like shadows, so depart," ride in the air, and to celebrate infernal orgies at their nocturnal sabbaths?

It was an early superstition of the Jews. Calmeil refers to an ancient rabbinical tradition embodying the principal feature of the child killing diabolical sorcery. Adam, according to this tradition, was first married to a sorceress named Lilith, or the Mother of devils. This Megara was a perverse being, refused submission to the will of Adam, and even commands from heaven conveyed to her by angels. She persisted in her resolutions, and one day after invoking the name of Jehovah, according to the prescribed rules of the Cabala, she took flight and disappeared in the air.

This must have been a relief to Adam. But it

was none to his immediate descendants. We may pass over lightly the extreme antiquity of the Cabala, it is quite sufficient for us that the legend is as old as the Rabbins, whose traditional lore was deemed of an ancient date in the first ages of Christianity. "Lilith," we are told, "became in course of time the terror of all Judea. If an epidemic prevailed in that country that was fatal to children, the people said it was Lilith, who had transformed herself into an aërial spectre, who put them to death. If the ancient of days of the synagogue were asked why many new-born children were taken away towards the eighth day of their birth? the ancients replied, it is Lilith who made them perish! In the hope of preventing the evil influence of Lilith, the newly married used to inscribe the names of three angels on the internal walls of their dwelling, and on the exterior of it, the names of Adam and Eve, and at a little distance, the words—Begone Lilith."

"Gradually the name of Lilith was given to Jewish women of bad repute or suspected of commerce with demons. Finally, this name became the signification of destruction—of a propensity to homicide. The wretches who were supposed affiliated to the sect of Lilith, were represented with bare necks, they were said to have the art of appeasing the cries of infants, by offering them the breast and suffocating them in the stillness of night, after having calmed them by insidious caresses."*

* Calmeil. De la Folie. Tome i. p. 142.

The legend of Lilith, transmitted from age to age, from people to people, introduced into the traditions and literature of many countries, but always recognizable through the various transformations, additions, and embellishments, which the different tastes for allegory of different nations had been the cause of, eventually became a prevalent traditional idea—that the practice of sorcery was necessarily allied with an indomitable propensity to homicide.

Torreblanca, refers to this ancient superstition of the Jews, who on their bed-posts were wont, he says, to affix an inscription with these words, "Et zelo Chuizlilith," that the person on whose bed these words were might be delivered by the protection of Lilith from the nocturnal devil, and against this nocturnal demon the use of phylacteries was also in vogue :*

"Contra nocturnos fortis tutela timores."

The Greeks consecrated the idea of the connexion of sorcery with child-killing in their mythology and their poetry. A daughter of Neptune named Lamia, a reputed sorceress, was a great slayer of children. There were various kinds of sorceresses, but all of homicidal tendencies.

Some of them passed into Rome and acquired a local habitation and a name in Italy. They transformed themselves there especially into ferocious and rapacious animals. One sort were called *Striges*, sorceresses of an old age who sought to restore their

* Demonologia, 4to. Moguntia, 1623, p. 337.

debilitated powers, often under the guise of owls frequenting places of sepulture for the purpose of feeding on human flesh, and in the silence and stillness of night stealing invisibly into houses and leaving new born children drained of their blood, exanimate in their cradles.

The Romans in the eastern provinces of their empire, in the second century charged the Christians with the practice of killing a child, and eating the blood mixed with flour, at their religious ceremonies. Wierus says, the idea of the supposed revels of sorcerers at their assemblages was derived from the orgia of the Romans. From Italy the prevalent idea of the connexion of sorcery and child-murder crept into the superstitions of all Europe. It pervaded the witchcraft of France, Germany, Spain, and Portugal, the Sclavonic nations, and the British Islands. "The practice of Anthropophagy," says Calmeil, "among the people of Europe may then be classed in the rank of fictions, and children have never been exposed to the fury of demon worshippers."—"Jamais les enfans n'y ont eté exposès en realitè a la fureur des demolatres."*

St. Epiphanius enters largely into the abominable crimes which from the time of the Emperor Adrian were charged against the Christians, and many persons laid these crimes to the account of the Gnostics.

From the writings of the two great apologists of

* De la Folie, Tome i. p. 145.

the Christian religion of the second century, Justin Martyr and Tertullian, the following extracts are taken. For obvious reasons they are taken from a translation of those Apologies, by a Protestant divine.*

Justin Martyr, whose Apology for the Christians, addressed to the Emperor Antoninus Pius, was written about 150, A.D. according to Photius, "a man little behind the Apostles themselves, either in time or virtue"—a contemporary of Irenæus, thus refers to the accusation brought against the Christians of killing children for their secret banquets.

"There is one Marcion," says Justin, "also of Pontus, who at this time instructs his disciples in the doctrine of another God, greater than the Creator of the world, and who by the assistance of the evil spirits has spread this poison so effectually about every nation, as to prevail upon many to subscribe to this blasphemy, and deny the Maker of the universe to be God, professing another greater Deity, and a Creator of greater worlds; and yet all this sort of men go by the name of Christians, as I have already said, just like the philosophers, who though they differ ever so much in principles, yet all take upon them the common title of philosopher. But whether these heretics are really guilty of those cursed and scandalous actions, which are industriously

* The Apologies of Justin Martyr, Tertullian and Minutius Felix, in defence of the Christian Religion. Translated from their originals, by the Rev. W. Reeves, M.A. London, 2nd ed. 1716.

spread abroad about Christians, such as putting out the candles, and promiscuous intercourse, and the devouring of human flesh, I cannot say; but this I am sure of, that you do not harass and destroy them, as you do us, for these detestable doctrines."*

* Justin Martyr, Apology, p. 52, Reeves' Translation.

"As the reader will meet this horrid charge against the Christians in all these Apologies, of promiscuous intercourse, and devouring an infant at their meetings, I think it will not be impertinent in this place to acquaint him with the grounds of such false and malicious accusations. Origen fathers them upon the Jews, as if they had invented them on purpose to bring Christianity into disgrace, and these lies, said he, succeeded so well, that even some in his time would not hold the least conversation with a Christian; but though the Jews had malice enough to invent anything to the prejudice of Christians, yet I can hardly be persuaded that all this was pure lie and invention without any ground. We know that in the most early times of the Gospel, there were several sorts of heretics, such as Simon Magus, Menander, Marcion, Marcus, Basilides, &c. who all covered themselves over with the gilded name of Christians, and yet were all guilty of these horrid abominations charged upon Christians in general. Irenæus adv. Heres. lib. i. c. i. p. 28, and c. 9. p. 70, reports that they debauched in private those whom they had perverted and brought over to their sect, (as many with shame and sorrow acknowledged upon their return to the Church,) and not only so, but they openly married the women they had seduced from their husbands, and laughed at the chaste and orthodox Christians, as a parcel of blockheads, styling themselves the pure, the perfect, and the seeds of election. Clemens Alexandrinus likewise, Strom. l. iii. p. 430, tells the same story of the Carpocratians that Minutius Felix does of the Christians, namely, that both men and women used to meet at supper, in imitation of the love-feast, and after they had been well warmed with meat and

Tertullian, who was born at Carthage, about 160, A.D. according to Reeves, wrote his Apology about 200, A.D., or as Dodwell computes about 203, and according to other writers some years before 200, A.D. One of the principal accusations against the Christians which he defends them against, is the charge of killing children and partaking of their flesh. The following extracts from the Apology, bearing on this subject, are taken from the translation of Grabe's Oxford Edition, by the Rev. William Reeves, A.M. (London, 2nd edition, 1711.)

"It is the common talk," says Tertullian, "that we are the wickedest of men, that we murder and eat a child in our religious assemblies,* and when

drink, extinguished the candles, &c. &c. &c. And Epiphanius tells us the same of the Gnostics, Hæres. xxvi. p. 42, and at their meetings, he says, they were wont to take an infant begotten in their promiscuous mixtures, and beating it in a mortar, to season it with honey and pepper, and some other spices and perfumes to make it palatable, and then like swine or dogs, to devour it, and this they accounted their perfect passover. Now this being the practice of these abominable heretics, who had the forehead to style themselves Christians, it is no wonder if both Jews and Gentiles, who were greedy of any occasion to blacken the Christians, should load them in general with these detestable crimes, either not knowing them to be false, or else not willing to distinguish between Christians true or false." Translator's note.

* That this *charge of devouring a child in the sacrament was by the Heathens commonly laid upon the Christians is evident, because Justin, Athenagoras, Tatian, Minutius, and the rest of the Apologists insist so much upon it.* The nature of the institution,

we rise from supper conclude all in horrible excesses. It is reported likewise, that for this work, we have an odd sort of dogs, as officious in putting out the candles, as procurers of darkness for the freer satisfactions of our impious and shameless disorders. This is the common talk, and the report is of long standing, and yet not a man attempts to prove the truth of the fact. Either therefore, if you believe the report, examine the grounds, or if you will not examine, give no credit to the report. And this dissembled carelessness of yours against being better informed, plainly speaks, *that you yourselves believe nothing of it;* you seem to care not to examine, only in truth because you dare not; for were you of opinion, that these reports were true, you would never give such orders as you do about the torturing of Christians; which you prescribe, not to make them confess the actions of their life, but only to deny the religion they profess. But the Christian religion, as I have already intimated, began to spread in the reign of Tiberius; and the truth pulled down a world of hatred in its very cradle. For it had as many enemies as men without the pale of revelation, and even those within, the very Jews, the most implacable of any, out of a blind passion for the law. The soldiers from dragooning our persons, come to hate our religion, and

and the *practice of Simon Magus, Menander, Basilides, Carpocrates,* and other heretics, who passed under the name of Christians, most probably gave rise to this horrid story.

from a baseness of spirit, our very domestics are as much bent upon our destruction as they. Thus we are continually invested on every side, and continually betrayed, nay, very often we are surprised and taken in our public meetings and assemblies; and yet did ever any one come upon us, when the infant was crying under the sacrificer's hand. Who ever caught us, like a Cyclops or Siren, with mouths besmeared in human blood, and carried us in that cruel condition before a Judge?"*

"I shall now appeal to the testimony of nature, and argue whether it is credible, that she is capable of such inhumanities, as common fame charges upon Christians; and for argument sake, I will suppose a Christian promising you eternal life, and tying caution for the performance, upon consideration of your obedience. I will suppose likewise, that you believe this promise, and the question now is, whether upon such a belief, you could find in your hearts to be barbarous enough in spite of nature to accept of eternal life at this inhuman price. Imagine, therefore, a Christian addressing you in this manner.—Come hither, friend, and plunge your dagger into the heart of this innocent, who can deserve no punishment, who can be no man's foe, and who may be every man's son, considering our indiscriminate disorders.† . . .

"Answer me now to the question proposed, can

* Tertull. Apol. vol. 1, p. 177. † Ib. p. 183.

you purchase heaven upon these terms? If not, if you feel nature recoil, and your soul shrink at the proposal of such things, you can never think them credible in us.* . . .

"But you pretend, that the ignorant only are decoyed and tricked into our religion, such as have not met with any of these stories against us, but are caught before they have time to consider and examine with that accuracy which every man is obliged to, upon changing his religion. And allowing it possible for a man to be ignorant of common fame, yet if any one is desirous to be initiated, it is the constant custom, as I take it, for such a person to go to the chief priest, to be instructed *in* what is necessary for such an initiation. And then if these stories are true, he will instruct him in this manner. Friend, in order to communicate with us, you must provide a child tender and good, too young for any sense or notion of death, such a child as will smile in my face under the fatal knife. You are likewise to provide bread to soak up the blood, and candlesticks and candles, and some dogs with some morsels to throw to those dogs, just out of their reach, that by striving to come at them, they may pull down the candle and candlesticks to which they are tied.†

"But for a fuller confutation, I come now to prove that the heathens are guilty both in the dark, and in the face of the sun, of acting the same abominations they charge upon Christians, and their own

* Tertullian's Apology, vol. 1, p. 184. † Ibid. p. 185.

guiltiness, perhaps, is the very thing which disposes them to believe the like of others.* Infants have been sacrificed to Saturn publicly in Africa, even to the proconsulship of Tiberius, who devoted the very trees about Saturn's temple, to be gibbets for his priests, as accomplices in the murder, for contributing the protection of their shadow to such wicked practices. For the truth of this, I appeal to the militia of my own country, who served the Proconsul in the execution of this order. But these abominations are continued to this day in private. Thus you see, that the Christians are not the only men who act in

* "Infantes penes Africam Saturno palam immolabantur," &c. The heathens had a notion (however they came by it is not to my present purpose to conjecture) that repentance alone was not sufficient to appease the Divine wrath without a bloody sacrifice, and therefore the blood of man and beast was brought in to supply the deficiency. Accordingly, among the Phœnicians and Carthaginians it had been an ancient custom to choose by lot some children of the best quality for a sacrifice, and for those upon whom the lot fell, there was no redemption. And they were likewise dressed according to their quality in the richest apparel to make the sacrifice more splendid. And having omitted these human sacrifices for some time, and during that omission, being overcome by Agathocles, they offered two hundred sons of the nobility upon their altars to atone the Deity for the neglect of human sacrifices. Vid. Plat. dial. entitled Minos Dionys. Halicar. lib. 1, Diodor. Sic. lib. 20, Lactan, lib. 1, c. 21. Euseb. Præpar. Evang. lib. 4, and Silius Ital. at the end of the 4th book speaks thus of Carthage:

Mos fuit in populis, quos condidit advena Dido,
(Infandum dictu) Parvos imponere natos.

defiance of your laws; nor can all your severity pull up this wickedness by the roots, nor will your immortal God alter his abominable worship upon any consideration; for since Saturn could find in his heart to eat up his own children, you may be sure he would continue his stomach for those of other people, who are obliged to bring their own babes, and sacrifice them with their own hands, giving them the tenderest of words, when they are just about cutting their throats; not out of any bowels of compassion, but for fear they should unhallow the mystery, and spoil the sacrifice with tears. And now, in my opinion, this parricide of yours, or slaughtering your own children, outdoes the simple homicide charged upon us, by many degrees of barbarity. But infants are not the only offerings, for the Gauls* cut a man to pieces on the altars of Mercury, in the flower of his strength. I omit the human sacrifices at Diana's Temple in Taurica Chersonesus, which are the arguments of your tragedies, and which you seem to countenance by being so often at the theatres. But behold! in that most religious city of the devout descendants of pious Æneas, there is a certain Jupiter, whom at your religious games you propitiate with human blood in abundance. But these, say you, are bestial men, criminals already

* "Major ætas apud Gallos Mercurio profecatur." Cicero in Orat. pro M. Fonteio, speaking of the Gauls has these words, Quis enim ignorat eos usque ad hanc diem retinere illam immanem ac barbaram consuetudinem hominum immolandorum?

condemned to die by beasts. Alas-a-day! These are not men, I warrant ye, because they are condemned men; and are not your Gods wonderfully beholden to you for offering to them such vile fellows? However that be, this is certain, it is human blood.

"How many about me might I justly reproach upon this head, not only of the mob, continually gorged with blood of Christians, and nevertheless gaping for more, but also of your presidents of cities and provinces, who have been the severest against us upon this very score? How many, I say, of both sorts, might I deservedly charge with infant-murder? And not only so, but among the different kinds of death, for choosing some of the cruellest for their own children, such as drowning, or starving with cold or hunger, or exposing to the mercy of dogs; dying by the sword being too sweet a death for children, and such as a man would choose to fall by, sooner than by any other ways of violence.

"But Christians now are so far from homicide, that with them it is utterly unlawful to make away a child in the womb, when nature is in deliberation about the man; for to kill a child before it is born, is to commit murder by way of advance; and there is no difference, whether you destroy a child in its formation, or after it is formed, and delivered. For we Christians look upon him as a man, who is one in embryo; for he is in being, like the fruit in blossom, and in a little time would have been a perfect man, had nature met with no disturbance.

"As for the inhuman customs of banquetting upon blood, and such tragical dishes, you may read (for it is related by Herodotus,* I think), how that certain nations having opened a vein in their arms, solemnly drank of each other's blood for the confirmation of treaties; and something like this Catiline put in practice in his conspiracy. It is likewise reported, that in some Scythian families the surviving friends eat up the dead ones. But I need not go so far as Scythia, for we have now at this day as barbarous ceremonies at home; Bellona's priests lancing their thighs, and taking up their own sacred blood in the palms of their hands, and giving it their communicants to drink. Those epileptic persons also, who flock to the amphitheatres for the cure of their disease, intercept the reeking blood as it comes gushing from the Gladiator's throat, and swill it off with greediness. What shall we say of those who gorge themselves with the beasts they kill upon the stage, who demand a piece of the boar, or the stag that

* Herodotus, in his first book, reports, that it was the solemn way among the Medes and Lydians in making of leagues to strike each other on the shoulders with a naked sword, and then for the parties mutually to lick up the blood; and in his fourth book he tells us, that the Scythian rite of entering into league, was to fill a large cup of blood and wine mixed together, (the blood of both the parties confederating) and having dipped their swords and arrows into it, to pledge each other in it, and so by turns drink it off. And Possidonius, and from him Athenæus, lib. 2. cap. 2. relates, that the Germans at their banquets opened a vein in their face, and the parties mutually drinking up each other's blood, mixed with wine, was the ratification of the treaty.

is covered over with their own blood in the combat? Nay, the very paunches of boars* stuffed with the crude indigested entrails of men, are dishes much in vogue; and so man distends himself upon man, by surfeiting upon beasts fed with men. You who eat thus, oh! how differently do you eat from Christians? But what can we think of men so perfectly brutish as to make food of the very first principles of life, and so diet upon child and parent both at the same time? For shame, therefore, blush when you meet a Christian, who will not endure a drop of the blood of any animal in his victuals, and, therefore, for fear any should be lodged among the entrails, we abstain from things strangled, and such as die of themselves."†

But even earlier writers on ecclesiastical affairs than Justin or Tertullian accused the Christians of this homicidal crime; Tatian, who wrote about the year of our Lord 167, in his treatise against the Gentiles (page 167) says: "You accuse us of being cannibals, but you know well that you are slanderers."

Athenagoras, about 177, in his letter to Marcus Aurelius, triumphantly refutes the same slander.

* To such a degree of luxury, or rather bestiality, were the Romans grown, that a bear's paunch stuffed with the reeking viscera of Gladiators was reckoned a rare dish; and by the sumptuary laws against luxury I find that *verrina* and *abdomina* (which I take to be the same with these *alvei*) were forbidden at feasts. —Vid. Plin. l. 8. cap. 51.

† Tertull. Apol. vol. 1. p. 187 to 192.

"We, indeed," he says, "to take pleasure in the eating of human flesh! Before it is eaten, the victim must be killed, and the one crime is not better proved than the other; let those who assert it, say, have they seen it. I defy the most impudent liar to say so. There are amongst us those who possess slaves, some more some less, from whom it is impossible to conceal what we do; never has the charge originated with one of them against us. How then can men be accused of such crimes who are known to hold it for a principle, not even to assist at an execution, however legitimate it may be; and yet what ardour do we not see for the spectacles of gladiators, and the combats of wild beasts, which the imperial country lavishes on the curiosity of the people; we alone fly from them, and shall we, then, steep our hands in blood, who do not permit ourselves even to assist at those sports, which we regard as criminal, from the fear of being rendered useless by them. This would be, indeed, a monstrous contradiction on our parts."

Eusebius, in his Ecclesiastical History, cites a letter from the churches of Lyons and Vienna, to those of Asia and Phrygia, about the year 177. This letter details the particulars of a furious persecution raised against the Christians, on the charge being brought against them of eating human flesh at their religious festivals, and committing frightful crimes in their secret meetings.

"We had," says the letter, "slaves amongst us

who, though pagans, were arrested, the government having ordered that none belonging to us should escape.

"These slaves, whether from the force of the tortures with which they were menaced, or by a secret instigation of the devil, renewed against us all the old and frightful calumnies with which the pagans blackened our reputation, and that of the innocence of the church. They charged us with eating human flesh like Thyestes, and contracting incestuous marriages like Œdipus.

"Scarcely had these false accusations been spread amongst the people, than there arose a universal clamour against us. Those who had preserved for us some spark of humanity showered malediction on us.

"The consideration due to women, ever respected amongst the most barbarous nations, was no guarantee for their safety, nor for that of Blandine (one of their slaves.) But the Lord was pleased to shew by the example of this holy woman, that those who seem vile in the eyes of men, often are worthy of being honoured by God himself.

"She was of a nature so delicate that we trembled for her. But by the strength of grace, she was enabled to brave the different executioners who tortured her the entire day.

"And this holy woman, like a courageous combatant, constantly cried out, 'I am a Christian woman, we do not commit those crimes.'

"Biblis, her companion, another of the Christian women, who had previously been tormented into a renunciation of her faith, was again put to the torture of a further confession, for the crimes imputed to the Christians; but in the midst of her sufferings, she cried out, 'Can those be accused of eating children, who from motives of religion, abstain from the blood of animals?' From that moment her constancy was never shaken, till her martyrdom was accomplished, and that of her companion Blandine. The blood of the poor slave was pure enough to quicken the seeds of our religion,—sanguis martyrum semen Christianorum."

Minucius Felix, the Roman advocate, likewise repudiated the murderous charge. He says, "What are we to understand of these fables, continually disseminated, but never investigated or proved?"

In his celebrated dialogue between Cecilius and Octavius, he says, "We were persuaded that the Christians adored monsters, devoured infants, and abandoned themselves to dissolute courses in their festal meetings. We never reflected that no one had sought to verify these accusations, far, indeed, from thinking to prove them; and that among so many pretended culprits, not one had confessed the crime, however assured of impunity or recompense for so doing."* In the same work Cecilius denounces this Christian practice of murdering human beings to drink their blood and eat their flesh, so

* Minucius Felix Apol. Translated by Reeves, Vol. i. p. 257.

universally ascribed to them at that time, in the very language employed at this day; and at the end of 1700 years, the charge seems suited in all its details for the meridian of Damascus!

"The accounts," he says, "that are given of their initiation, and of those of the catechumens, who had been previously excluded from the sacrament, are no less horrible than those of their other practices. All the world is of one accord as to the details; in the obscurity of night, a child is conveyed into their assembly, the body of which is covered with flour, the person initiated without repugnance strikes the victim, the assembly receives the blood, they greedily drink it; they then divide the flesh among them, and make a horrific banquet of it. Such is the bond of union which keeps them in communion, and reciprocally binds the members in silence."*

* Ib. pp. 85, 86.

CHAPTER V.

DREAMS AND VISIONS—SWEDENBORG AND HIS REVELATIONS.

M'Nish, in the introduction to his "Philosophy of Sleep," observes that organic life is not suspended by sleep—"Sleep is the suspension of animal life, and during its continuance the creature is under the influence of organic life alone."

Mental excitement, that is not accompanied with extreme terror, is always productive of wakefulness. Monotony, on the other hand, of sound, sight, or thought, the weariness produced by the hearing of continuous sounds of the same kind, seeing long without interruption the same object, thinking solely on one subject, simple in its nature, familiar in its aspect, and with facility admitted and entertained, has a tendency to produce sleep. "It will generally be found," says M'Nish, "that the reasoning powers are those which are soonest prostrated by slumber, and the imagination the least so."

In somnambulism, as in ordinary sleep, some of the cerebral organs are in action—others are suspended; but in the former state, the imagination is

more forcibly impressed with a vivid idea of the reality of the images presented to it, and the muscular system is stimulated, and occasionally the senses of sight and hearing. While a particular sense or organ is thus inordinately stimulated, the increased demand on sensorial power causes other senses and organs to be thrown into greater torpor than if the whole system had been in repose. Such is the opinion of Dr. Mason Good. The reasoning powers in the common somnambulism naturally induced are generally partially suspended. In the higher degrees of this *disorder* of the mental system, the degree of wakefulness of all the senses and organs of the brain, does not differ much from the state of a person wide awake.

There is a mixture of coherency and incoherency in the dreams of somnambulism, and a forgetfulness of them when the state of somnambulency has ceased, that has been considered by many eminent physicians to shew, that in this respect it is analogous while it endures with insanity.

In somnambulism induced by mesmerism, we are called on seriously to consider the phenomena produced, and to inquire—is the condition of the mental faculties in that state altogether different from that of the mind, in somnambulism spontaneously occurring? Is the mind in that condition wholly free from any mixture of disorder and incongruity of ideas? Can it not be made in this condition, by minds possessed of stronger powers of voli-

tion than its own, to create within itself images of objects willed for it, of such vivid aspects as to be undistinguishable from real entities?

Dr. Fossate, in a communication published in the *Zoist* (April, 1847), observes—"Whenever we cause erroneous ideas to enter the intellect of persons, or to give false sensations, impressions, or notions, which are not in accordance with the real state of things, we have the power of making madmen of them."

M'Nish gives examples of persons, at pleasure, having the power of seeing whatever phantasms they wished to see. He tells us of one remarkable visionary, Blake the painter, who "was in the habit of conversing with angels, demons, and heroes, and of taking their likenesses." "His mind," says Cunningham, "could convert the most ordinary occurrences into something mystical and supernatural."

May not this faculty, of seeing at pleasure whatever phantoms it is wished to behold, in the case of persons with tendencies that render wonder, veneration, or enthusiasm unduly energetic, be the power which enabled Swedenborg and his brother Seers of the New World to be at will in communication with angels, and on familiar terms with the celestial powers.

There is one peculiarity very deserving of notice in some states of somnambulism naturally induced —namely, the fact of the somnambulist walking with the eyes open and the sense of that organ shut,

while the power of vision seems substituted by some new medium of communication between the sensorium and external objects, of the nature of which we are wholly ignorant.

The rapid succession of ideas, which is one of the characteristics of dreams, is one of the most obvious phenomena of that state of mental inebriation which is produced by opium, the Indian hemp preparation called *hashis*, alcohol, æther, and some of the gases. The late Sir John Sinclair, in a treatise on longevity, published some forty years ago, makes an observation, which I quote from memory, to the following effect: "If life be nothing but a continuous succession of ideas, the rapidity with which they pass through the mind, will determine the amount of life that may be said to be enjoyed."

But, however rapid this *successibility* of ideas may be, there is unity of thought; the mind can only be occupied with one idea at a time. The felicity of intellectual power, and perhaps the greatest state of exaltation, is when there is a rapid transition from one train of ideas to another, and when with it, is conjoined the power to combine them and apply them logically, probably the highest degree of intellectual vigour is attained.

In dreams the power of the imagination exceeds that of nature. The time occupied by the playing out of entire scenes of an ideal dream, the wonderful incidents of which could not be accurately described (had they to be written down) in half an hour,

is often hardly appreciable, sometimes it is to be estimated by seconds, at other times by minutes.

A very able writer, in an article on the Connexion of Body and Mind, observes:—"The time occupied by a volition or act of will, gives in some degree a measure of the speed of mental action, and of the speed with which one state of consciousness gives place to another."*

Dr. Carpenter, in his "Human Physiology," in a chapter on the functions of the nervous system, has noticed the very remarkable fact of certain trains of thought, in rapid succession sometimes passing through the mind, of the transition of which we are not conscious at the time, and of which we become conscious involuntarily or accidentally at some future period, or in some altered condition of the functions of the brain. He notices likewise the very singular fact, practically well known to Kepler, (as any one must perceive who reads the account of the progress, interruption, and resumptions with felicitous results, of his laborious researches,) that mental operations, at first carried on with difficulty or without very successful results, when they have been abandoned for a time, and attention has been transferred to other subjects of thought or inquiry, and again resumed or recalled, they came as it were with an "entirely new development," disembarrassed of many former difficulties and perplexities.

Sir Benjamin Brodie, on this subject, observes:—

* Edin. Review, No. 210, April, 1856. p. 429.

"But it seems to me that on some occasions a still more remarkable process takes place in the mind, which is even more independent of volition than that of which we are speaking; as if there were in the mind a principle of order which operates without our being at the time conscious of it. It has often happened to me to have been occupied by a particular subject of inquiry; to have accumulated a store of facts connected with it; but to have been able to proceed no further. Then, after an interval of time, without any addition to my stock of knowledge, I have found the obscurity and confusion in which the subject was originally enveloped, to have cleared away; the facts have seemed all to have settled themselves in their right places, and their natural relations to have become apparent, although I have not been sensible of having made any distinct effort for that purpose."*

It has been clearly shewn by Sir Henry Holland, that when a particular absorbing idea or train of ideas, "a train of inward thought," has laid fast hold of the mind, all external objects "utterly disappear." Every sense sleeps while the mind is thus awake and active within itself. By the light of this psychological philosophy we may read understandingly accounts which are given by Shelley's biographer, of states of being of that gifted man which without them are very incomprehensible.

A man in a state of reverie, whose mind is actively

* Pyschological Inquiries, &c. by Sir B. Brodie. 1856.

employed "within itself," or to use the words of Sir Henry Holland, passing suddenly, "by will or accident, into a train of inward thought," might be placed on a battle field without hearing the thunder of the artillery, or surrounded by the most marvellous sights in the world without being conscious of their proximity.*

The same writer, on this subject, observes elsewhere:—

"Place yourself in the crowded streets of a city, a thousand objects of vision before your eye—sounds hardly less various coming upon the ear—odours also constantly changing—contact or collision at every moment with some external object. Amidst this multitude of physical objects of sensation, and with all the organs of sense seemingly open, one alone (whether in itself simple or compound does not affect the question) will be found at each moment distinctly present to the mind. It combines them only by giving close and rapid sequence to the acts of attention. Let the trial be made to attend at once to the figures of two persons within the same scope of vision; or to listen at the same moment to two distinct sounds; or to blend objects of sight with those of hearing in the same act of attention. The impossibility will instantly be felt, and the passage of the mind from one act to another very often re-

* Psychological Inquiries, in a series of essays intended to illustrate the mutual relations of the physical organization and the mental faculties. Lond. 3rd Ed. 1856.

cognized. Or, under the same circumstances, let the mind pass suddenly, by will or accident, into a train of inward thought, whatever the subject, and all the external objects thus crowded around you utterly disappear, though the physical agents producing, and the organs receiving sensations, remain precisely as before. Every sense sleeps while the mind is thus awake and active within itself. A man so occupied may be alone in a multitude."

Leibnitz, in his "Nouveaux Essais sur l'Entendement Humain," has a very remarkable passage on the same subject:—

"D'ailleurs il y a mille marques qui font juger qu'il y a à tout moment une infinité de perceptions en nous, mais sans perception et sans réflexion; c'est à dire des changements dans l'ame même, dont nous ne nous aperçevons pas, parceque ces impressions sont on trop petites et en trop grand nombre, on trop unies, en sorte qu'elles n'ont rien d'assez distinguant à part; mais jointes à d'autres, elles ne laissent pas de faire leur effet et de se faire sentir dans l'assemblage au moins confusément. . . . Toute attention demande de la mémoire et quand nous ne sommes point avertis, pour ainsi dire, de prendre garde à quelques-unes de nos propres perceptions présentes, nous les laissons passer sans reflexion et même sans les remarquer; mais si quelqu'un nous en avertit incontinent et nous fait remarquer, par exemple, quelque bruit qu'on vient d'entendre, nous nous en souvenons et nous nous aperçevons d'en

avoir en tantôt quelque sentiment. . . . Ces petites perceptions sont donc de plus grand efficace qu'on ne pense. Ce sont elles qui forment ce je ne sais quoi, ces goûts, ces images des qualités des sens, *claires dans l'assemblage, mais confuses dans les parties;* ces impressions que les corps qui nous environnent font sur nous et qui enveloppent l'infini; cette liaison que chaque être a, avec tout le reste de l'univers. On peut même dire qu'en conséquence de ces petites perceptions le present est plein de l'avenir et chargé du passé; que tout est conspirant (comme disait Hippocrate) et que dans la moindre des substances des yeux aussi percants que ceux de Dieu pourraient lire toute la serie des choses de l'univers."*

In the waking state there is passing before us an endless current of images and reflections, furnished from our recollections, or produced by the operations of fear, hope, or desire on the imagination. The impressions continually made on the senses are constantly changing or modifying the current of our thoughts. But the most important changes and modifications in them are effected by the exercise of attention, a power of controlling, as well as detaining our thoughts, and submitting them to the test of experience or opinion.

"In sleep," says Herbert Mayo, "we recognize, as the psychical basis of sleep, the suspension of the

* Nouveaux Essais sur l'Entendement Humain. Introd. Raspe, 1765.

attention. Are any other mental faculties suspended in sleep? Sensation and the influence of the will over the muscular system are not. For our dreams are liable to be shaped by what we hear. The sleeper, without waking, will turn his head away from a bright light; will withdraw his arm if you pinch it; will utter aloud words which he dreams he is employing. The seeming insensibility in sleep, the apparent suspension of the influence of the will, are simply consequences of the suspension of attention."*

"Ordinary dreams present one remarkable feature; nothing in them appears wonderful. We meet and converse with friends long dead; the improbability of the event never crosses our minds. One sees a horse galloping by, and calls after it as one's friend Mr. so and so. We fly with agreeable facility, and explain to an admiring circle how we manage it. Every absurdity passes unchallenged. The attention is off duty. It is important to remark that there is nothing in common with dreams to interfere with the purpose of sleep, which is repose. The cares and interests of our waking life never recur to us; or if they do, are not recognized as our own. The faculties are not really energizing; their seeming exercise is short; they are unharnessed; and are gambolling and rolling in idle relaxation. That is their refreshment."

* On the Truths contained in Popular Superstitions, 1849. 8vo. p. 78.

"The attention alone slumbers. Or through some slight organic change it is unlinked from the other faculties, and they are put out of gear. This is the basis of sleep. The faculties are all in their places; but the attention is off duty; itself asleep, or indolently keeping watch of time alone."*

"There have been occasions when much excitement on the subject of religion has prevailed, and when strange disorders of the nervous system have developed themselves among the people, which have been interpreted as immediate visitings of the Holy Spirit. The interpretation was delusive; the belief in it superstition. The effects displayed were neither more nor less than phenomena of trance, physiological consequences of the prevailing excitement."†

Guy Patin, the celebrated French physician and savant, who flourished in the middle of the 17th century, a man of great wit as well as learning, with very little of credulity in his character or enthusiasm in his opinions on physiological subjects, makes the following remarks on certain kinds of dreams respecting disease and some morbid conditions of the functions of the body:—

"Il est constant que l'on peut connaître par les songes quelque dispositions corporelle. Je suis là dessus du sentiment de Saint Thomas, quand il dit 2. 2. qu. 95. a 6. "Medici dicunt esse intendendum

* On the Truths of Popular Superstitions by Herbert Mayo, M.D. p. 79.

† Ib. p. 113.

somniis ad cognoscendum interiores dispositiones." En effet, les malades songent d'ordinaire autrement que ceux que se portent bien; les melancoliques autrement que les sanguins, les bilieux autrement que les pituiteux; mais je m'en tiens là, sans tirer d'autres conjectures sur les choses libres et de pur hazard, jusqu'à ce que je croye qu' il y ait du surnaturel dans ce qu'on a songé; alors je rappelle dans ma memoire l'histoire de Joseph, de Daniel, &c. pour m'y soumettre comme à des moyens dont l'Eternel se sert, pour faire connaitre aux hommes ses volontez."*

There are some remarks of a German physician, in a work published upwards of a century ago, on the subject of nightmare, and its phenomena, which would apply to visions, dreams, and many of the delusions of hystero-convulsive monomania.

Dr. Jacob Brauner, a physician, in an old German work on Demonology and Witchcraft, published in 1747, referring to the common belief that nightmare was attributable to sorcery and witchcraft observes:

"It is a rash imagination also, when people attribute divers diseases, which are difficult of cure, to witchcraft. The ancient physicians who had not deeply studied anatomy and chemistry, were of opinion, that this complaint was caused by the fumes arising from an overloaded stomach; by which the stomach and the lungs are oppressed, and the

* L'esprit Guy Patin, Amsterdam, 1710, p. 132.

motions of the diaphragm interfered with, so as to impede respiration. But as this malady overtakes people, who have not overloaden their stomach by eating supper, I am rather inclined to believe that this is occasioned by a *Halitus narcoticus*, or a thick and unwholesome vapour, which mingles with the volatile spirits, especially those which proceed from the eighth pair of nerves that belong to the chest, and the muscles connected with the organs of respiration, and so enervates them that they become completely unstrung, and respiration is impeded, which interruption occasions dreams and phantasies. I also hold, with many learned men, that by this malady a spasmodic contraction of the nerves of the diaphragm, and of the muscles of the chest is caused, as also of the air-vessels of the lungs, whereby their action being impeded, respiration is affected."*

Death-trance is a form of suspended animation. There are several others. After incomplete poisoning, after suffocation in any of its various ways, after exposure to cold, in infants newly born, a state is occasionally met with, of which (although many of the appearances may differ) the common feature is an apparent suspension of the vital actions. But all of these so-cited instances agree in another important respect; which second inter-agreement separates them as a class from death-trance. They represent, each and all, a period of conflict between

* Vide "Supernatural Illusions," Lond. 1841, vol. 1. p. 134.

the effects of certain deleterious impressions and the vital principle, the latter struggling against the weight and force of the former. Such is not the case in death-trance.

"Death-trance is a positive status; a period of repose; the duration of which is sometimes definite and predetermined, though unknown. Thus the patient, the term of the death-trance having expired, occasionally suddenly wakes, entirely and at once restored. Oftener, however, the machinery which has been stopped seems to require to be jogged; then it goes on again.

"The basis of death-trance is the suspension of the action of the heart, and of the breathing, and of voluntary motion; generally, likewise, of feeling and intelligence, and the vegetative changes in the body are suspended. With these phenomena is joined loss of external warmth; so that the usual evidence of life is gone. But there has occurred every shade of this condition that can be imagined, between occasional slight manifestations of suspension of one or other of the vital actions, and their entire disparition.

"Death-trance may occur as a primary affection, suddenly or gradually. The diseases, the course of which it is liable, as it were, to bifurcate, or to graft itself upon, are first and principally all disorders of the nervous system. But in any form of disease, when the body is brought to a certain degree of debility, death-trance may supervene.

Age and sex have to do with its occurrence; which is more frequent in the young than in the old, in men than in women; differences evidently connected with greater irritability of the nervous system!"*

There are cases on record of persons who could spontaneously fall into death-trance. Monti, in a letter to Haller, mentions several.

"A priest of the name of Caelius Rhodaginus had the same faculty. But the most celebrated instance is that of Colonel Townshend, mentioned in the surgical works of Gooch; by whom and by Doctor Cheyne and Doctor Beynard, and by Mr. Shrine, an apothecary, the performance of Colonel Townshend was seen and attested. They had long attended him, for he was an habitual invalid; and he had often invited them to witness the phenomenon of his dying and coming to life again, but they had hitherto refused, from fear of the consequences to himself. Accordingly, in their presence Colonel Townshend laid himself down on his back, and Doctor Cheyne undertook to observe the pulse; Dr. Beynard laid his hand on his heart; and Mr. Shrine had a looking glass to hold to his mouth. After a few seconds, pulse, breathing, and the action of the heart were no longer to be observed. Each of the witnesses satisfied himself of the entire cessation of these phenomena. When the death-trance had lasted half an hour, the doctors

* Letters on the Truths contained in Popular Superstitions, by Herbert Mayo, M.D., p. 34.

began to fear that their patient had pushed the experiment too far and was dead in earnest. And they were preparing to leave the house, when a slight movement of the body attracted their attention. They renewed their routine of observation; when the pulse and sensible motion of the heart gradually returned, and breathing, and consciousness. The sequel of the tale is strange, Colonel Townshend, on recovering, sent for his attorney, made his will, and died, for good and all, six hours afterwards.

"Although many have recovered from death-trance, and there seems to be in each case a definite period to its duration, yet its event is not always as fortunate."*

Don Francisco Torreblanca, an eminent Spanish lawyer and ecclesiastic, in his work "Dæmonologia sive de Magia Naturali, Dæmoniaca," &c. 4to. Moguntia, 1623, professes to give an account of all that had been written up to his time on the subject of Sorcery, and of the judicial proceedings of the Inquisition and the civil tribunals against sorcerers, defending the latter, regulating their practice, and strenuously asserting the truth of the prevailing opinion of the frequent occurrence of diabolical possession.

The visions or dreams, he says, which occur in sleep are either to be ascribed to God, nature, or the devil. Those which are from God are distinguishable from

* Ib. p. 36.

those which are to be attributed to the devil, as we are told by Gregory the Great (Dialog. 4, c. 48)—"Holy men discern between illusions and revelations, and distinguish the sounds emitted and images perceived in these visions when cast into deep sleep, 'quodam intimo sopore,' so as to know those which emanate from a good spirit, and those which they suffer from (contrary) illusions."

In the former, "in somniis divinis," the slumber is quiet and undisturbed by terrors, the mind is tranquil, something of suavity is always perceived within, a certain interior alacrity is felt, and some design seems apparent in them, either for our private utility or public advantage; or admonitory in them, recommending what is good; or of exhortation, warning us from what is evil.*

Torreblanca speaks of two kinds of dreams: one in which sometimes divine mysteries are revealed—that, for instance, of Jacob, when the mystic ladder was revealed to him, and that in which the kingdom of Christ was revealed to Daniel: and likewise that in which the arcana of philosophy and medicine are revealed; as when to Alexander, in a vision, it was shewn how, by means of a certain herb, the effects of poisoned arrows could be removed; and to Galen, when sick, the vein was shewn from which blood was to be taken. The other kind is that of diabolical dreams, occasioned by the evil spirit agi-

* Torreblanca, Demonologia, pp. 146 ad 148.

tating the humours of the body, or imprinting on the phantasy the figures of things, and making a representation of sights or scenes either direct or symbolical in its application, as St. Thomas of Aquinas affirms, and also St. Augustine. Such were the visions of the Anabaptists, and those formerly of the Enthusiasts, "et fuere olim enthusiastarum;" those also of the *Lectiternia* of the Gentiles in the temples of Esculapius, Serapis, Pasiphae, and others, and those which the demons were wont to give in the way of answers to questions, as to King Latinus (Virgil, Æneid, 7); and similar were the diabolical influences of those of whom Isaiah speaks (cap. 65), "qui habitant in sepulchris et delubris idolorum dormiunt;" and St. Jerome, "ut dæmonis responsa accipiant." And therefore all observation of dreams was forbidden to Christians, unless such as originated in divine revelation, "nisi præcedente divina revelatione."

In Locke's idea of enthusiasm much truth is expressed in a few words:

"This I take to be properly enthusiasm which, though founded neither on reason nor divine revelation, but rising from the conceits of a warmed or overweening brain, works yet where it once got footing, more powerfully on the persuasions and actions of men than either of these two, or both together; men being most forwardly obedient to the impulses they receive from themselves; and the whole man is sure to act more vigorously when the

whole man is carried by a natural motion. For strong conceit, like a new principle, carries all easily with it, when got above common sense, and freed from all restraint of reason and check of reflection, it is heightened into a divine authority, in concurrence with our own temper and inclination.

"Though the odd opinions and extravagant actions enthusiasm has run men into, were enough to warn them against this wrong principle, so apt to misguide them, both in their belief and conduct, yet the love of something extraordinary, the ease and glory it gains one to be inspired, and be above the common and natural ways of knowledge, so flatters men's laziness, ignorance, and vanity, that when once they are got into this way of immediate revelation, of illumination without research, and of certainty without proof and without examination, it is a hard matter to get them out of it. Reason is lost upon them, they are above it," &c.*

The strength of the conviction of enthusiasts, we are truly told by Locke, is no proof of the reasonableness of it: "This is the way of talking of these men; they are sure because they are sure, and their persuasions are right because they are strong in them . . ."

"The strength of our persuasions is no evidence at all of their own rectitude; crooked things may be

* Essay on the Human Understanding. "Of Enthusiasm," vol. 2. p. 274.

as stiff and inflexible as straight, and men may be as positive in error as in truth."*

SWEDENBORG.

Was Emmanuel Swedenborg an impostor and a hypocrite? or an enthusiast, of a morbid condition of some of the intellectual faculties which are most concerned in the production of dreams and the visions of ecstatic somnambulism?

This singular person, born in 1689, was the son of a Swedish bishop of Skara, of the Reformed Church. He had received a good education, was a man of science, and had devoted himself especially to the study of mineralogy and chemistry, with such success, that, after travelling for some years, on his return home his merits and scientific acquirements attracted the attention of his sovereign, and obtained for him the office of Assessor to the College of Mines in Stockholm, and gained for him a patent of nobility in 1719. Up to the year 1743, when he had attained the age of fifty-four, he lived in the world engaged in his scientific and philosophical pursuits, and the duties of his office, with the reputation, well deserved, of an industrious, ingenious, simple-minded and virtuous man, of undoubted sincerity and probity.

His first publication was a volume of Latin poems, which appeared before he was twenty years of age.

* Essay on the Human Understanding. "Of Enthusiasm," vol. 2. p. 278.

He wrote several works, and published many treatises of merit in scientific journals on mining and mineralogical subjects, the principal of which are to be found in his "Opera Philosophica et Mineralogica." His attention, however, was much given to religious subjects of inquiry.

In 1743 a conviction appears to have been made on his mind, that the world of spirits held occasional communion with certain favoured persons in this life, and up to the period of his death, in 1772, he lived in the firm persuasion, that he held continual and almost diurnal commerce with spirits both of a celestial origin and those of deceased men of eminent sanctity or heroic Christian virtues. His intercourse with St. Paul and Luther was of the most familiar and friendly nature. His chit-chat with the spirits forms a large portion of his revelations. Thus, in regard to a disputed point of theology, he says, "I had a conversation the other day on that very point with the apostle Paul."

In a letter to Oelinger, of Wurtemburg, dated Nov. 11, 1766, the following passage occurs: "If I have spoken with the angels? to this I answer, I conversed with St. Paul during a whole year, particularly with regard to the text. Romans iii. 28. I have conversed with St. John three times, once with Moses, and a hundred times with Luther, who allowed that it was against the warning of an angel that he professed 'fidem solam,' that he stood alone upon the separation from the Pope.

With angels, finally, have I these many years conversed and that daily."

Of the habits, forms, and even attire of the angels he gives a detailed account: "They have human forms, the appearance of men, as I have a thousand times seen; for I have spoken with them as a man with other men, often with several together, and they have nothing in the least to distinguish them from other men."

And he informs us—"Lest any one should call this an illusion or imaginary perception, it is to be understood that I am accustomed to see them when perfectly wide awake, and in full exercise of my (powers of) observation. The speech of an angel or of a spirit sounds like and is as loud as that of a man: *but it is not heard by the by-standers.* The reason is, that the *speech of an angel or a spirit finds entrance into a man's thoughts and reaches his organs of hearing from within.*" This is a very remarkable coincidence of two explanations of the *modus operandi* of the same hallucinations, by two individuals professing to be in communication with the spiritual world—one in the enjoyment of angels' visits, neither few nor far between, the other possessed by devils, and constantly receiving communications from them. The superioress of the convent of Soudum, giving an account of her own torments from the demons she imagined herself possessed by, says, that on one occasion the demon Behemoth tormented her spirit grievously; he represented to her the

history of her past life from the age of six years. "Par une locution qu'il me faisait dans ma tête."*

Swedenborg, moreover, tells us: "The angels who converse with men speak not in their own language, but in the language of the country: and likewise in other languages which are known to a man, not in languages which he does not understand."

But in a letter further on he explains their mode of speaking to him—they appeared to him to speak his mother tongue, *because in fact* it was not they who spoke but himself after their suggestions.

Swedenborg, like Danté, Mahommed, and many supposed possessed nuns, had a strong propensity in narrating the wonders of the other world, and especially those of the infernal regions, to people the latter realms of woe with opponents, with persons whom they had been taught to think ill of, on polemical grounds.

Swedenborg damns the Popes in general, and the Cardinals of their court in particular. He finds them fit men for the agents of Satan, and he has them accordingly in a fitting place. But he deals very differently with "the friends of truth," of all the Reformed Churches, with some remarkable exceptions however. This is the least poetical portion of the visions of heaven and hell of Emmanuel Swedenborg. Things of the earth, less earthy,

* Calmeil de La Folie, t. 2. p. 26.

ought to have been expected from the inspirations of an enthusiast endowed with poetry and eloquence, bordering often on the sublime, and the insensate, it must be admitted.

Here is a passage of his in his best vein of sublimity: "When approaching, the angels often appear like a ball of light; and they travel in companies so grouped together—they are allowed so to unite by the Lord—that they may act as one being, and share each other's ideas and knowledge; and in this form they bound through the universe from planet to planet."

The following extract is from the last work of the Swedish seer, entitled, "True Christian Religion, containing the Universal Theology of the New Church, which was foretold by our Lord, by Emmanuel Swedenborg, servant of the Lord Jesus Christ: translated from the original Latin, 2nd ed. 4to. Lond. 1776." "I am aware (he says, after an account of one of his visions) that many who read the memorable relations annexed to each chapter of this work, will conceive that they are the fictions of imagination; but I protest in truth, that they are not fictions, but were really seen and heard; not seen and heard in any state of the mind in sleep, but in a state when I was broad awake; for it hath pleased the Lord to manifest himself unto me, and send me to teach the things relating to his New Church, which is meant by the New Jerusalem in his Revelation, for which

purpose he hath opened the interior of my mind or spirit, by virtue of which privilege it was granted to me to have commerce with the angels in the spiritual world, and at the same time with men in the natural world, and that now for twenty-seven years. Who in the Christian world would have known any thing of heaven and hell, unless it had pleased the Lord to have opened the spiritual vision to some person or other, and shew and teach what relates to the spiritual world? That such things do really appear in the heavens as are represented in these memorable relations, is clearly evident from similar things being seen and described by John in the Apocalypse, and also by the prophets in the Old Testament.

"In the Apocalypse we read, that John saw the Son of man in the midst of seven candlesticks; that he saw a temple, a tabernacle, an ark, and an altar in heaven, a book sealed with seven seals, the book opened, and in consequence thereof, horses going forth, four animals about the throne, twelve thousand chosen out of each tribe, locusts ascending from the bottomless pit, a woman bringing forth a man child and flying into a wilderness by reason of a dragon, two beasts, one ascending out of the sea, the other from the earth, an angel flying in the midst of heaven having the everlasting gospel, a glassy sea mixed with fire, seven angels having the seven plagues, vials poured out by them on the earth, on the sea, on the rivers, on the sun, on the

throne of the beast, on Euphrates, and on the air, a woman sitting on a scarlet beast, a dragon cast out into a lake of fire and sulphur, a white horse, a great supper, a new heaven, and a new earth; the holy Jerusalem coming down from heaven, described as to its gates, its walls, and foundations; also a river of the water of life; and trees of life bearing fruit every month; with many things besides, which were all seen by John, whilst as to his spirit he was in the spiritual world and in heaven," &c.

"From these, and many other instances in the word of God, it is evident that the things which exist in the spiritual world have appeared to many both before and since the coming of the Lord; what wonder then is it that the same things should now also appear at the commencement of the church, or when the New Jerusalem is coming down out of the heavens."*.

These were the last words penned by Swedenborg that have been published. The source of all the intercourse with the spiritual world imagined by Swedenborg, of all the revelations he has given of his innumerable journeys to heaven, was the Apocalypse of St. John. Its imagery and machinery seem to be constantly present in his mind. They are never lost sight of in his revelations. Their deep shadows are found constantly projected on his path. They are deeply impressed by study and

* Swedenborg's Christian Relig. p. 708.

profound meditation on his mind, and pictured with life-like veracity on his imagination. They are reproduced at will in print, as original conceptions, without the slightest consciousness of the identity of those visions with the revelations of his favourite portion of the Scriptures, St. John's Apocalypse.

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* On the Truths of Popular Superstitions by Herbert Mayo, M.D. p. 79.

† Ib. p. 113.

many extraordinary visions and revelations for the three first years of these supernatural occurrences, as these phenomena were deemed by her; but those of the rest of her life, and they continued to its close, were not published by her, but many of them were communicated to her directors. Father Ribera, a learned Jesuit, some time her confessor, wrote her life. Another biography of her was written by Yepes, bishop of Tarragona; a later one, published by Bishop Palafox, in four volumes; and all her works in Spanish, in several editions, and perhaps the best edition of them, translated by Arnaud d'Andilly and others, was published in Paris, in 1840. From the time of the death of her good and holy mother, when Teresa was in her 12th year, her piety to God and charity to the poor became settled habits, that every day seemed to assume more of a saintly character. A change, however, came over the spirit of her life on her approach to the age of fifteen. Knight errantry, histories, sentimental novels and romances, fine clothes, and rich adornments, agreeable company, though of near relations; little vanities, exaggerated in her scrupulous mind into great defects, nay, into mortal sins, gradually led to a falling off in devotional fervour, which appeared to her at length a grievously sinful state; one which to die in would inevitably entail eternal punishment. At the age of fifteen, apparently much in opposition to her wishes, she was placed in a convent in Avila by her father. There she was fre-

quently subject to attacks of illness. In a short time, however, she became reconciled to her seclusion from the world, and her old fervour of religious feelings returned. Dangerous indisposition obliged her to quit the convent, after a residence there of a year and a half. She returned to her father's house. There, after some time, a violent fever seized her, and on her recovery, fearing from former experience the probability of renewed paroxysms, she determined on devoting herself to a religious life, and accordingly entered a Carmelite convent in the suburbs of Avila, and took the veil in opposition to her father's wishes.

She made her profession in her twentieth year, in 1534. "A sickness," says her biographer, "which seized her before her profession, increased on her very much after it, with frequent fits of fainting and swooning, and a violent pain at her heart *which sometimes deprived her of her senses.*" Physicians finding no remedy for her extraordinary case—she was removed to her sister's house in the country, and remained there and at Bazeda nearly a year in the care of able physicians. She derived no benefit from them. She suffered from continual fever that preyed on her nervous system. Sharp pains afflicted her whole frame; her sinews began to shrink up; she got no rest by day or night; she had a complication of maladies which terminated eventually in hectic fever. In this condition her patience was remarkable; she read the book of Job frequently, and other holy

works, and had often in her mouth the aspirations of Job, and fervent expressions of resignation to the Divine will. At length, in August, 1537, then in her 23rd year, she fell into a lethargic coma or trance, which lasted four days, and during this period "it was expected that every moment would be her last. It being once imagined that she was dead, a grave was dug for her in the convent, and she would have been buried if her father had not opposed it, and testified that he still perceived in her body some signs of life. *Through excess of pain she had bitten her tongue in many places,* when out of her senses, and for a considerable time she could not swallow so much as a drop of water without almost choking. *Sometimes her whole body seemed as if her bones were disjointed in every part, and her head was in extreme disorder and pain.*"

It is impossible for a medical man to read this account—of the occasional falling into a lethargic state, fits of fainting and swooning, violent spasms, pain at the heart, temporary loss of reason, shrinking of the sinews, oppression with a profound sense of sadness, biting of the tongue in many places when out of her senses, inability to swallow any liquid, distortion of the whole frame as if all her bones were disjointed, subsequent inability to stir hand or foot for some time, and a generally diffused soreness so as to be unable to bear being touched —without coming to the conclusion that the sufferer laboured under physical disease of a low

nervous, or gastric kind, with continuous fever, probably complicated with epileptic tendencies.

When some slight amendment in the health of St. Teresa had taken place she was removed to her convent, by her own earnest desire, though reduced almost to a skeleton, and still suffering from pains in all her limbs, and a paralytic affection of them. In this state she continued eight months, and remained a cripple nearly three years. During this time a little contemplative work on self-recollection and quietude was her constant study. "The prayer of Quiet," we are told by her biographer, "or state of tranquil abstraction and communion with the Deity, in which the soul rests in the divine contemplation so as to forget all earthly things, became a privilege of hers. And sometimes, though not for a longer space than an Ave Maria at a time, she arrived at the prayer of Union, in which all the powers of the soul are absorbed in God." It is stated, that for want of an experienced spiritual instructor at this time, she made little progress in contemplative perfection, being liable to distractions which impeded continuous meditation, so as to be able to hold mental discourses without the aid of a book.

Nevertheless, the excellent dispositions of this eminently holy person did not prevent intermissions of piety in the early part of her career. About the period just referred to, she fell again from the fervour and devotion of her ordinary course of life. Her naturally affectionate disposition, and cheerful

temper, exposed her to the inconvenience of much intercourse with secular persons in the parlour of the convent. Dissipation of mind followed, and neglect of mental prayer soon succeeded. She began to take delight in company at the grate and in the parlour, "and she contracted an intimacy with one whose company was peculiarly dangerous to her."

One day, while she was conversing at the grate with a new acquaintance, she had a vision, which seemed to her intended to rebuke her for the dissipation she had indulged in. The apparition of our Lord was suddenly presented to the eyes of her soul, with a rigorous aspect, testifying to the displeasure occasioned by her conduct.

The vision of our Lord she considered an effect of imagination, and persuaded herself that the distractions of her late life had nothing reprehensible in them. Again she had recourse to mental prayer. The innocent recreations, however, of conversations with secular people were only occasionally given up; and out of twenty-eight years that had passed in the convent when she wrote the observation, she says she had spent more than eighteen in strife between duty and distraction, between trial of spiritual dryness and intervals of heavenly consolation in the prayer of quiet and communion with the Deity.

Of the many excellent effects of mental prayer she discourses largely and eloquently. She tells us

how her patience was perfected by it; "that, however slothful at particular times, she would not tire of hearing sermons, though ever so bad." Great, indeed, must have been her holding out; for what but the patience of a lamb could have borne so many bad sermons as the poor lady must have heard from the Fray Gerundos of Avila, in the course of those eight and twenty years of conventual life.

There is a curious observation of St. Teresa's, with respect to the effect produced on her by good preaching, that psychology, perhaps, might explain, if theology failed to do so: "I had such an affection for sermons, that I could not be deprived of them without feeling much regret. And I could not hear good preaching without conceiving a great friendship for the preacher, though I did not know how that came to be."*

In a short time after her return to the convent she became enamoured of holy meditation, wonderfully cheered and spirit-gladdened by this power of contemplation and absorption of the soul in the quietude of prayer. And in this condition we learn that "she received a heavenly light, in which she clearly saw the nothingness of all earthly things, looked upon the world as under her feet, and beneath the regard of the spirit, and pitied all persons who vainly pursued its empty bubbles."

Towards the expiration of the third year of her severest sufferings there was an abatement of her

* Her Life written by herself. Tome i. p. 173.

bodily sufferings; the paralysis gradually so far disappeared as to leave her able to crawl upon her hands and feet. She remained subject, however, to the end of her life, for a period of upwards of twenty years, to violent vomitings, of daily occurrence. All this time her patience continued unsubdued, and all the tenderness of a woman's feelings, animated with the most fervent love of the nearest and dearest objects of affection in this world, seemed mingled with the melting piety, and yet solemn veneration, with which she poured out her inmost thoughts in prayer. That exalted piety was accompanied with a remarkable earnestness of charity, which made her resolute and vigilant in resisting the slightest tendency to detraction. In her presence no one durst reflect on another, or deal harshly with their defects. From her earliest years she shewed an abhorrence of censoriousness. It was one of the great rules of the life of this faithful servant of God to speak of others always mercifully, and cause them to be charitably spoken of in her presence, as she would desire to be spoken of by others, and her best friends to be dealt with in their absence kindly and considerately.

No matter what error of judgment there might be in the extravagant propensity to exaggerate her faults, which St. Teresa indulged in, what evidence of exaltation of mind and excess of enthusiasm there might be in her religious feelings; there was, in the heartfelt piety I have referred to, and that instinc-

tive horror of the baseness of defamation which was natural to her, excellences which might lead us to expect more than ordinary privileges for their possessor.

A very careful perusal of her writings, moreover, and an earnest desire to discover in them true evidence of the real state of her mental and moral condition, with a very strong disposition, let me add, to doubt the prudence of ascribing everything extraordinary that passes in the mind of such a person to a supernatural origin, has left a conviction on my mind of the entire sincerity, simplicity of character, and singleness of purpose of this truly remarkable, and amiable and pious woman.

In the "Œuvres tres complètes de Saint Therese," Traduits par Arnaud D'Andilly et en deux tomes, 8vo. Paris, 1840, we have a detailed account of the raptures, visions, and revelations of this remarkable person, so eminent for piety, charity, and humility, and yet so apt to represent to herself all imaginations, however incongruous they might occasionally be, all ideas, however grotesque in their forms, that might present themselves to her mind in the highest state of its excitement, as divine communications, of equal authenticity with those which evidently bore the stamp of a purely spiritual origin.

In the 24th chapter of the life of the Saint, written by herself, she gives a very singular account of her first perfect consciousness of the Saviour's presence, the precursive marvel of those

visions of the Redeemer's corporal appearance, of which we have so many accounts in her writings.

"Being in prayer," she says, "on the anniversary of St. Peter, I saw, or, to speak more correctly, I felt—for I saw neither with the eyes of the body nor those of the soul—that some one was near me, and it seemed to me that it was the Lord Jesus Christ himself who spoke to me. As I entirely ignored what it was to have similar visions, I was at first frightened, and I wept abundantly. But a single word of this divine Saviour encouraged me so much that I became, as I had previously been, devoid of fear, but also very tranquil and much comforted. It seemed that He walked alongside of me, without my being able, however, to observe in Him any corporeal form, because this vision was interior and not sensible. I knew only very clearly that He was always at my right side; that He saw everything I did; and, however imperfectly I might recollect, or that I may not have been extremely distracted, I could not ignore that He was with me."

This kind of consciousness of the real presence of our Saviour, says the saint, is quite different from that ideal presence which some persons, few indeed the number, deeply engaged and highly favoured in it—have in the mental prayer of union. "But how," she observes, "could I be certain it was not an illusion, or a mere phantasy of imagination only, when that presence was not visible to the sight or

cognizable to any of the senses." She answers those who appeal to such divine communications, that in the state in which she was, "there is no obscurity; the soul is assured of what it feels by a knowledge more luminous than the light of the sun, which illuminates the understanding, to render the soul capable of enjoying so great a favour, and which is followed by so many others."

God, moreover, she observes, on such occasions speaks to the soul without words or images, and makes Himself manifest to it: "This language is so supernatural and so celestial, that one endeavours in vain to explain it, if God does not give him the intelligence, by the effects which it produces." This celestial mode of communication to the soul, it is above all to be remarked, says the saint, is adopted when great mysteries or great truths are to be revealed to it.

St. Teresa distinguishes four degrees in mental prayer:

1. Holy meditation on the Saviour's life, necessitating serenity of mind and seclusion, ardent love, total acquiescence in the Divine will, self-distrust, unshaken trust in God.

2. Quiet, in which the powers of the soul are recollected but not absorbed in God; captivated by his goodness, subjected to his will, and gratified even to tears and sensible delight with the office of giving thanksgiving for his mercy.

3. Repose of the soul—the prayer of union attended with a peculiar sense of felicity in the con-

templation of the Divine love; a state in which the soul expends itself in admiration and adoration, but sinks not into inactivity, as the false Mystics and Quietists pretend; though how the soul acts in this condition the saint professes not to know.

By this prayer of union is understood a mystical harmony of the powers of the understanding and the will in close union with God, in which state the mind is filled with an ardent love, and the clear light and infinite brightness of the Divine wisdom, which mutually act like a fire consuming all earthly affections.

St. Teresa's experience of this union at first was in raptures of very short continuance. "But it always left a wonderful light, which the infinitely bright sun had poured into her understanding, and she found her soul as it were quite melted with sweet and ardent love. Afterwards it was very long if this suspension of the powers continued half an hour, *nor is it easy during the time for a person to know how long it lasts.* The saint, being at a loss to express what passes within the soul on such occasions, says, on one occasion she heard our Lord say to her: —"She annihilates and loses herself to pass more perfectly into me. It is no longer she that lives, but I live in her. And as she comprehends not what she hears, it is as if hearing she did not hear."

The supernatural passion prayer is not attained by any human effort; but certain conditions are indispensable for its existence: chiefly great purity of

heart, disengagement of the mind from earthly things, mortification of the will and the senses, complete self-renunciation, abandonment of all sensual gratifications and vain amusements, humility, silence, solitude and seclusion, frequent mental prayer, fervent aspirations after immortality.

Of this "Sweet Commerce," as St. Bernard calls the sublime consolation of the sense of unity, even for the shortest period with God, we have the following account:

"It pleased God," says the saint, after many years of spiritual dreariness and aridity, "to give me the grace of the prayer of quietude and sometimes of union. This was at the age of twenty."

"My manner of thus praying was to endeavour, as much as it was in my power, to have always my Lord Jesus Christ present to my mind: and when I had made some passage or action of his life the subject of my consideration, I represented it to myself in the bottom of my heart."*

Twenty years had elapsed before she attained what is termed the highest grade of spiritual exaltation, the sublime degree of passion prayer. Bartholomæus A. Martyribus observes—"This gift is sooner and more sublimely conferred on the simplest-minded creatures, who have no other care than to work out their salvation in fear and trembling, and to please God, than on great and learned theologians, unless they have given themselves up with their whole

* Her Life written by herself. Tome i. p. 146.

hearts to the study of humility."—(Compend. De L. par 2. c. 3.)*

The supernatural passion prayer comprises the prayer of quiet or recollection, and that of union. In the former the soul is shut up within herself; the faculties receive no impressions from without; the operation of the senses is suspended. This prayer of quiet St. Teresa calls Mystical Theology, being the first degree of supernatural passion prayer. In it supernatural and divine things are represented to the intellect in a clear heavenly light, by which it sees and comprehends as it were by intuition, without any effort of the reasoning powers. The saint calls this state of suspended memory and the reasoning faculties, and elevation of the soul, supernatural. She lays down two important rules, with regard to supernatural influences in contemplative prayer, worthy of attention: "That no one must ever desire them, nor use any efforts to obtain them." *For such efforts would be vain or illusory; that is to say, productive of deceitful effects on the imagination.*

Secondly, such efforts would be presumptuous; "and this edifice of prayer," says the saint, being founded on humility, the nearer a soul approaches to God the more must this virtue grow in her. If it be not so the whole fabric will fall to ruins.

* Butler speaks of the supernatural passion prayer as, "infused so totally by the Holy Spirit, as not to have the least dependence upon human industry or endeavours, though it requires certain remote dispositions in the soul."

The fourth and highest elevation of all, of the soul in prayer, is that which (literally translated) the saint terms, "The prayer of rapture or ecstacy, or flights, or transports of the soul." Some of the specific distinctions might be spared, which are made between the several forms of mental prayer, which, in reality, are nothing more than differences in the degree of elevation of the soul above earth, and earthly things. In this state she says there is an entire absorption of the soul in the Deity: the most perfect union of man's spirit with the Deity which it is capable of undergoing in this life. A single moment of the happiness of this state, says the saint, is accompanied with such an interior exaltation of delight, as to be a sufficient recompense for all the pains that a human being can have ever undergone. The prayer of union differs, according to the saint, from that of rapture in this particular,—in the former "the soul is able to resist the Divine operation; in the other, of rapture or ecstasy, in which it cannot resist. In either, *the body loses all the use of its voluntary functions, and every part remains in the same posture, without feeling, hearing or seeing, at least so as to perceive it; though, she says, on such occasions the soul knows she is in a rapture, whilst she is, by the most ardent love, ravished in God. Those raptures continue sometimes for hours, though not all the time in the same degree. In them, the soul sees, in a wonderful and clear manner, the emptiness of earthly things, the great-*

ness and the goodness of God and the like. Though before she saw nothing in herself but desires of serving God, in a rapture she beholds herself covered with spots, defects, and faults, for the smallest are clearly visible in a bright beam of the divine light, darting in upon her. She sees she is all misery and imperfection, and cries out: 'Who shall be justified before thee?' As the vessel which seemed before clear in a crystal glass, appears full of atoms if it be placed in the beams of the sun, so this Divine sun, by darting its bright beams upon the soul, sets before her eyes all imperfections and sins as so many hideous spots. At this sight she is confounded and humbled on one hand beyond expression, and on the other astonished at the greatness and goodness of God, and transported in an ecstacy of love and adoration."

"St. Teresa mentions, that having suffered two raptures in the church, which could not escape the observation of others, she prayed that this might no more happen to her in public, and from that time it had not happened when she wrote. But this was not long after (the occurrence of the raptures.) She says, she was sometimes raised from the ground in prayer, though she endeavoured to resist it."*

St. Teresa's raptures, according to her own account of them, were special graces that are usually concomitant with a vehement love of God in the will, or come with excessive spiritual joy, or seem to emanate from a beam of heavenly light darting

* Butler's Lives, Ed. 1833, part x. p. 673.

upon the understanding. She says the faculties of the mind are lost during the intimate union of the soul with God, so that during a short space of time, while that exalted sense of union lasts, "she neither saw nor heard, nor perceived anything about her."

"During the rest of the ecstacy, the soul, though she can do nothing of herself as to the exterior or the voluntary motions of the body, understands and hears things as if they were spoken from afar off. When she returns to herself her powers continue in some degree absorbed, sometimes for two or three days."

In the state of rapture, says St. Teresa, the soul takes no account of anything which does not bring us nearer to God. There is a strong conviction of the worthlessness of every thing in this world —wealth, and all the enjoyments procured by it— honour, and all the airy nothings of that name that are built upon a lie.

Among the heavenly visions of the saint was one in which she beheld her parents in bliss. In other visions much greater secrets were revealed of the glorious kingdom than she had the power to give utterance to. The brightness of the sun was mean and obscure, in comparison of that celestial light which no human imagination can paint to itself. All the senses, steeped in delight, enjoyed an exquisite sweetness which cannot be explained. She remained once about an hour in that condition.

In the 13th of the published epistles of the saint*

* Œuvres. Traduits par Andilly, &c. Tom. 2. p. 254.

there is a letter addressed to an eminent Jesuit—Don Rodrigo Alvarez, one of her directors, wherein the fullest details are given of her spiritual experiences, the resumé of which is as follows:—

Supernatural influences accompanying prayer, or the result of it, cannot be acquired by any efforts of our own; all that can be done by human beings is to dispose themselves to receive them, and this disposition is a great matter in itself.

The first sort of prayer which appeared to her supernatural, was that of an interior recollection which made itself felt in the soul, and seems to have created within it a new sense like the external senses, and which sought to disengage itself from the trouble which the latter caused it. Sometimes this seeming new sense exercised a dominion over the external senses, and the desire supervened of shutting the bodily ears and eyes, in order to see and hear only with the newly acquired spiritual interior sense, in order to commune with God alone. In this state one does not lose any of the senses or powers of the soul. All are preserved, but filled with the idea of God.

From this state of recollection (rather of abstraction) arises a sense of quietude or peace, internal, in which it seems to the soul that nothing is wanting to it.

Then the soul wearies of speech and representation of ideas, that is to say, of prayer and meditation. It is capable of love alone. This state endures

sometimes a long time. This kind of prayer of quietude produces commonly a sleep, which is called the sleep of the powers of the soul; in which, however, these powers are not so profoundly steeped, that they are altogether so absorbed, nor so suspended, as to justify this state of orison being called that of rapture or perfect union with the Deity.

In this prayer of quietude it happens generally, at least it seems so, that the will is united to God; and yet the other two powers of the soul are free and capable of devotion to things connected with the service of religion in this world. Martha and Mary, in a word, walk together. The first time that Saint Teresa found herself in this state she was so surprised that she inquired of her director if it was not an illusion, and the good father Francis said it was not, for he often felt in this state himself.

But in the prayer of union all the powers of the soul are absorbed in the Deity. They have nothing to do with the world. The understanding is struck as it were with astonishment. The will loves more than the understanding can conceive of love. There is no thought left, (of earthly things); memory appears annihilated. The senses seem lost: and all this, as the saint imagines, that the soul might wholly and solely enjoy the fruition of that blissful communion with the dear and adored object with whom it is taken up, that it may lose none of those moments of rapture which unfortunately last so short a time. The soul derives great advantages from this blessed

state. The virtue of humility is peculiarly strengthened by it. To explain its results to others in a satisfactory manner is almost an impossibility. The privileges of it are the greatest which God can confer, or at least among the greatest, on human beings in this life.

The state of rapture and suspension of the powers of the soul are nearly synonymous, according to the saint. But there is a difference of degrees of intensity in these phenomena.

The state of rapture lasts longer and is more cognizable to the external senses. *It stops respiration. The person in this state cannot speak nor open the eyes. The same happens in the state of suspension, but not with so much force.*

When the rapture is intense the natural heat of the body departs, the hands remain cold as ice, and sometimes rigid as bars, and the body remains in a standing or a kneeling posture, according to the posture *it was in when entering into this mental prayer. The soul is so engaged enjoying the objects that the Lord presents to its contemplation, that it seems to forget to animate the body, and even to abandon it wholly. Also for the short time that this state endures, the members for a long time feel the effects of it.*

In it the soul has a more perfect knowledge of that which it enjoys than in the state of union. In it God ordinarily discovers *the greatest mysteries, which great privilege is productive of marvellous*

effects in the soul, such as forgetfulness of itself, and consciousness only of the glory of the potent Master of the universe.

The sweetness and satisfaction which are experienced in this ecstatic state of prayer, and with all the humility that is blended with the soul's admiration of the Deity, are so incomparably better calculated to inspire felicity than all enjoyments in this lower world, that if the remembrance of them only remained in all its strength, and was not effaced, one would cast under his feet all the advantages of this world.

The saint attempts to explain a distinction between raptures and ecstacies, which attempt is evidently an unnecessary and impracticable effort. She distinguishes likewise from ecstacy what she terms "the flight of the soul." In this attempted explanation the ordinary distinctness of her ideas and clearness of expression are not perceptible: and apparently aware of this, she prefaces her account of this difference with the observation, "that she has a very bad memory." She says, *it seems to her that soul and spirit ought to be the same thing. She finds no other difference* between them, than that which is met between a fire well lit and its flame. In fire, that which remains below is distinguished from that which ascends, though there is but one element present; the only difference in the particles of it being in the situation. And so is it with the soul.

When the fire of the Divine love comes to be lit up, it produces out of itself and darts upward something

vivid and subtle, which ascends and goes where God wishes it to go. This is what the saint calls, The flight of the soul—which is an irresistible movement, swift as that of a bird, and so vividly perceived in this state of ecstatic prayer, as to admit of no other comparison than that of flame, and the flight of some winged creature endowed with singular velocity, escaping for a moment from confinement.

This little bird of the spirit seems to dart like lightning from the miserable cage of the body, when an opening has been left for it: and having recovered its liberty it is then fitter for the service of the Lord of perfect freedom. This state is something of so delicate and subtle a nature, that it takes possession of the soul without leaving the least doubt of being deceived. It is only on coming out of this condition, when the soul begins to consider its misery here below, it finds many causes for apprehension. Still there remains within itself a certain profound conviction of security which sustains it, and to which it can deliver itself up without prejudice, provided it guards sedulously against falling into illusions.

The saint next describes a state of suddenly accruing transport of the soul, a sense of dereliction of the spirit, occasionally experienced, even without being preceded by prayer; there being almost always a sudden conviction of the absence of God from the soul. Sometimes this agonizing thought comes without any apparent cause, discourse, or incident to suggest or to call it forth. Sometimes it comes with

such violence, all of a sudden, as to cast the soul into complete disorder, desolation, and unutterably horrid gloom. The disconsolate spirit finds no resource in the understanding. It rests absorbed in its mortal disquietude. It feels clearly that it would be a desirable release to die. Hence everything offered to it while in this condition serves only to torment it more. It seems as if the Lord wished to deprive it of all comfort, and that it exists only to suffer. It has difficulty to persuade itself that it is the will of God, it should live. It finds itself in a frightful solitude and abandonment, which cannot be described: all on earth is wearisome to it, and it can find no companionship in creation. *The soul then aspires only to its Creator, but it conceives the impossibility of enjoying his divine presence without death.* It languishes with the desire of dying, to such an extent, as to be really in danger of death. It seems to itself—suspended as it were between heaven and earth, without knowing what is to become of it. Yet from time to time God gives it a consciousness of His perfections: but only to make it conceive all it loses by separation from Him; and this knowledge makes such a strange impression on it that the grief cannot be expressed that is felt in this extremity. There are no pains on earth, no physical sufferings equal to those agonies of a desolated soul. To give an idea of them, she observes, though this condition should last only half an hour, the sufferer would come out of it with the whole

frame, to the feelings, bruised and broken, and the bones as it were dislocated and pained exceedingly, and with a hand which it would be then impossible to employ to write.

But these corporal pains cease to be sensible to the soul when the transport is over. It is then too much occupied with its internal sufferings. It would probably, she believes, be absolutely insensible to the greatest external torments. It has, nevertheless, the use of all its senses; of the faculty of speech, of sight; but the person cannot walk. The spirit is, as it were, crushed to death by the great blow of the Divine love. It must be, continues the saint, that this condition comes of God; for though one might die of the desire to produce it, the attempt would fail. It leaves wonderful effects in the soul, and the latter derives great advantages from it. Theologians speak diversely of it, but none of them condemn it. Some highly laud the salutary effects of it. In fine, the soul clearly comprehends that this state of transport is one of the greatest favours that can be received from God. But if this favour was often repeated, life would not last a long time.

The saint speaks of a minor transport, more common and less violent, which admitted of consoling influences and tenderness derived from tears. But the terrible state of dereliction of the spirit, which she denominates Transport, terminates, almost always, she adds, by an ecstacy; God willing, by

this favour to console the soul and engage it to live only for him.

In the preceding account, the language of the saint is almost literally rendered, some redundancies of expression alone have been omitted. But the concluding portion of this epistle is so remarkable, that it seems to me the translation should be given word for word from the original.

"In these states (of ecstacy and transport) I see the three Persons of the very Holy Trinity as distinctly as I saw you yesterday, my Reverend Father, you and the Father Provincial: except that I see and hear nothing (with the organs of the body), as I have already had the honour of telling you. But though I see them not, not even with the eyes of the soul, I have an extraordinary certitude of their presence, and when this presence begins to fail, my soul immediately perceives it. To tell you how that takes place is an impossibility for me; but I know, beyond a doubt, it is not the work of my imagination: and it is so little imaginary, that whatever effort I may make to recall the same representation I cannot succeed. I have experienced this more than once. It is the same with respect to all the accounts I have been able to give you in this letter. It is now so many years, the same things happen to me, that I think I am able to attest the reality of them. It is very true, and remark this I pray you, my Reverend Father, it is very true, that as to the person who always speaks to me, I can say affirma-

tively whom he appears to me to be: but I cannot speak with the same certainty of two others: there is one whom I know, who has never spoken to me: the reason I know not: I never occupy myself asking of God more than is accorded to me; I fear too much that the devil should delude me: and I hope, having that fear before me, that I will never be more curious. It seems to me that the first person has sometimes spoken to me; but as I do not remember it well, nor what was said to me, I dare not assert it positively. All that is written, as you know, and more at length: as for the rest, though these three persons present themselves to my soul distinctly, and in a manner so extraordinary, my soul comprehends clearly that it is not but one God. I do not remember that the Eternal Word has spoken to me, but His humanity truly, and I think I can affirm that this is no imagination.

"I cannot answer the question you put to me respecting the water. And I have not learned moreover where the terrestrial paradise was situated. I have already said, that I hear only what the Lord is pleased to make me understand, because I cannot do otherwise, and it does not depend on me not to hear him: but to ask him an explanation of such or such a thing, I have never done it, nor dare I do it. I would have too much fear, I repeat it, to be the dupe of my imagination, and that the devil might deceive me. Never, thanks be to God, have I had curiosity. I have no desire to have more know-

ledge than I possess: what I have learned without wishing for it, has cost me too dear, though I have reason to believe it is the means by which God has been pleased to save me, seeing me so wicked, for the good souls have not need of all these supernatural succours to practise virtue.

"I must not forget a sort of prayer which precedes the first form (of quietude) of which I have spoken to you, and which consists in the presence of God. This is not a vision. But it is a state in which any person may be in who recommends himself to God sincerely at the beginning of his prayer, when that prayer might be even merely vocal, unless the soul should be in a state of absolute dryness. May God shew mercy to me, and be pleased not to permit that I lose by my fault the fruit of so many graces that he has poured on me.

"I am, with great respect, my Reverend Father, your unworthy and very obedient servant,

(Signed) "THERESE DE JESUS."

It is a very curious circumstance, that a person eminently pious, as St. Teresa undoubtedly was, whose life should have been devoted to works of piety for nearly a quarter of a century, as her life had been, should yet be considered, by certain spiritual persons, likewise eminent for their piety—"deluded by the devil," after a careful investigation of all the circumstances connected with her visions, and her own statements to those persons.

We read in Butler's biographical notice of the

saint: "The first person to whom she opened herself (on the subject of her own fears as to the nature of the supernatural influences of her visions) was a gentleman of Avila, named Francis of Salsedo, a married man, who for 30 years had practised mental prayer with great assiduity, and with his virtuous lady, who concurred with him in his great charities and other exercises of piety, was an example of virtue to the whole country. This gentleman introduced to her Dr. Daza, a learned and virtuous priest; and after an examination of what she declared of herself, both judged her to be deluded by the devil, saying such divine favours were not consistent with a life so full of imperfections as she expressed hers to be."

This opinion appears to have alarmed the saint, and in her alarm she had recourse to one of the first fathers of the Society of Jesus, to whom she laid open her mind; and by this director she was assured all those phenomena which had been supposed illusions created by the devil were in reality "divine graces." By the counsel of her new director her spiritual exercises were augmented, and her physical condition was more acted on by mortifications of various kinds. "By the advice of this confessor, St. Teresa made every day a meditation on some part of our Lord's passion, and set herself heartily to practise some kinds of penance, which were very incompatible with her weak health, for on pretence of her great infirmities she had

thought little of any other mortifications than such as were general."*

Another confessor told her that her prayer was an illusion of the devil, and commanded her, when she saw a vision, to make the sign of the cross and to insult the vision as that of a fiend. And in simplicity we are told she obeyed the order of her director; though "it was a terrible thing to her," she said, in these visions to use exterior actions of scorn, "when she saw the vision of our Lord, as she had seen it on several occasions." On one occasion, when she had made these signs of scorn, our Lord commended her for her obedience to the orders given her; but as to the prohibition of the use of mental prayer, "our Lord appeared angry at it, and bade her tell them it was tyranny."

The Lord gave her a sign also by which she was to know it was not the devil. He took the small cross attached to her beads, and when he gave it back to her, "it appeared to be of four great stones, incomparably more precious than diamonds. They had the five wounds of our Lord engraved on them after a most curious manner. He told me," says the saint, "I should always see this cross so, from that time forward, and so I did: for I no longer saw the matter of which the cross was made, but only these precious stones."

After this vision, she says, "there grew in me so impetuous a love of God, that I found myself even

* Butler's Lives, No. iv. p. 647.

dying through a desire to see Him (my true life), nor did I know where or how to find this life but by death."*

But all the visions of the saint were not of Heaven and its inhabitants. She tells us—"Besides interior troubles and temptations, she sometimes met with exterior afflictions, and frequently saw devils in hideous figures; but she drove them away by the cross or holy water, and when the place was sprinkled with holy water they never returned. One day, while she was in prayer, she had a vision of hell, in which she seemed in spirit to be lodged in a place she had deserved (to be in), that into which the vanities and dangerous amusements of her life would have led her, had she not been reclaimed by the divine mercy. Nothing can be added to the energy with which she described the pain she felt from an interior fire there, and an unspeakable despair; the thick darkness without the least glimpse of light, in which, she says, she knew not how one sees all that can afflict the sight, from torturing discontent and anguish, the dismal thought of eternity, and the agony of the soul by which she is her own executioner, and tears herself as it were in pieces; of which torment it is too little to say that it seems a butchering and a rending of herself (the soul.)"†

The following are the precise terms in which hell is described by the saint:

* Her own Life, cap. 28. † Butler's Lives.

"The entrance to this place seemed to me like that of those small streets, long and narrow, which are shut up at the end, or like an oven, very low, very dark, and very confined. The floor appeared to me of bubbling fetid water, filthy, and of an impoisoned odour, and full of a great number of venomous reptiles. At the extremity of this little street was a cavity made in the wall, in the shape of a niche, where I found one was placed in much constraint; all this is only a bad sketch, and this aspect, all frightful as it was, had a charm in it, compared with the state of my internal feelings. This torment was so terrible, that all that can be said of it cannot represent the smallest part of it; I felt my soul burn in a terrible fire that I can scarcely describe as it was, since I can with difficulty conceive it, even though, according to the accounts of doctors, I have suffered the most excruciating pains that can be suffered in this life: add to all this, a certain agony of soul, a compression of the heart, an overwhelming sensation, a weariness of being, a despair so appalling that I would undertake in vain to express it. It is not that the soul is torn by an external violence, it is of itself that the tearing of it comes, it seizes and drags itself to pieces. How can I express this internal fire, and this sort of spiritual rage of which the impression was made on me, I know not by whom, though I felt myself in utter consternation, and hacked into a thousand pieces."

There are passages in this account which seem to

indicate great vividity of imagination, and susceptibility of impressions from passing influences, causing the shadows even, of subjects of an absorbing interest, the dim outlines of things projected from surrounding objects of terror to fix on the mind, and take the shape and air of realities.

It is stated by her in her own life, she sometimes saw the mystery of the Trinity in so clear and wonderful a manner as to amaze her; sometimes the Lord in his Divine Person, sometimes in his humanity, and "*often heard him say to her, with demonstrations of great love, Thou shalt now be mine and I am thine.*" She sometimes had apparitions of St. Joseph and the blessed Virgin, and other saints; "and once," she says, "she saw an angel near her, towards her left hand, rather little than big, but very beautiful, his face was so inflamed that he seemed to be one of those highest angels, called Seraphims, who seem to be all on fire with divine love. The angel held a long golden dart, with some fire at the point, with which he transfixed her heart several times, which inflamed her spirit with the love of God, but which caused also a great pain in her soul, which also affected her body; but this extremity of pain was accompanied with excessive delight, and whilst it continued she went up and down like one transported, not caring to see or speak, but only to burn and be consumed with that pain, which was a greater happiness to her than any that can be found in created things." Yet the

seraphim, she says, in withdrawing the dart removed the viscera.

"Et me percant jusqu'au fond des entrailles il me semblait qu'en le reserant il me les arrachait et les enlevait avec lui et il me laissait tout embrasseè d'amour pour dieu."*

She saw a great number of souls in heaven that had been in purgatory. "But among all the souls," she adds, "which I have seen, I have not known any one to have escaped purgatory, except three, St. Peter of Alcantara, a religious of the order of St. Dominick, and a Carmelite friar."

Many pious persons, we are told, in the life-time of the saint, believed that she was labouring under mental hallucinations, which were ascribed to Satanic agency. It would seem as if religious writers were disposed to look on these things as inseparable. "Six religious men," says Butler, "of note, who had been the friends of St. Teresa, after a conference on this subject, decided that she seemed deluded by the devil, and prevailed on F. Balthazar to go with them to her, and to order her not to communicate so frequently (which was her greatest comfort and support), not to live so strictly retired, and not to prolong her meditations beyond the time prescribed by the rule of the house. Her very friends resisted and shunned her, as one who had communication with the devil, and some stuck not to call her a devil."†

* Œuvres de Ste. Theresa, tom. i. p. 25.

† Butler's Lives, vol. iv. p. 676.

Others, it would appear, with equal injustice, looked on her as more of a sorceress than a saint, because in some of her writings she expresses some belief in magic.

St. Teresa says of magic: "I am not persuaded of the truth of all that I saw of magic; but I will repeat that which I have seen, in order that men may preserve themselves from those detestable creatures, who having cast off the fear of God and the modesty of their sex, (which should make them hold no such thoughts,) are capable of committing every sort of crime to satisfy the passions with which the fiends inspire them."

She then relates how it came to her knowledge, that a young ecclesiastic had been placed in the power of such a person by wearing about his neck a talisman in the form of a small medal, which she had given him, and on this medal being given up to the saint at her instance, and thrown into the river, the demoniac power which had been exercised over him ceased all at once.

If the whole tenor of the life and conduct of this remarkable woman were not in entire accordance with the practical duties of religion, we might be led to question the claim of some of the accounts, that have been given of her spiritual experience, to attention. But in judging those portions of it which seem strange, and inconsistent with the solemn interest of the remaining part of it, without derogating in the slightest degree from her eminent sanctity, it may

be borne in mind that her bodily health underwent great variations, sudden changes, and accesses of frightful sufferings, that affected for the time being all her faculties bodily and mental. In such periods of affliction, we have to take into account not only the variable atmosphere of the mind, as it is predisposed by peculiarity of temperament to be affected by external influences, but as it is acted on by internal agencies, with augmented vehemence, when physical strength is suddenly impaired or overpowered.

Those whose nervous system is most delicately organised, and their moral and intellectual faculties are so constituted as to manifest, most clearly, a dependence on that organization; in whom the elements of life and intellect, and all the ennobling sentiments are most stirring, active, and energetic, these are the persons whose thoughts, feelings and aspirations are most actively engaged, and most frequently disappointed; who are most sensitive to all "the skyey influences," the most impressible, the soonest hurt by noxious emanations from earth or air; having the strongest sympathies between mind and body, and being less mindful than their fellow-men of the necessity of maintaining an equilibrium and a league between powers equally adjusted. If we knew more of the temperament and physical organisation of mystics and visionaries (individuals having, not feigning visions), we would be in a better condition to form a just opinion of their revelations. "Who does not know," says Bichat, "that the individual

of the sanguine temperament, whose expansion of lung is great, whose circulatory system is large and strong, who does not know that such a man is possessed of a disposition to anger and violence? that when the bilious system prevails, the passions of envy and hatred are more particularly developed; that when the lymphatic system is pronounced, the inactivity and dulness of the individual are pronounced also."

"In general, that which characterises any particular temperament, consists in a correspondent modification of the passions on the one hand, and of the organic viscera on the other."*

If worldly men might presume to judge of matters of the kind which M. Villefore treats of, perhaps it might seem to them, that the constant application of the mind to contemplative pursuits, and the practice of austerities of the most rigorous description, were very inconsistent with the impaired health and shattered frame of this saintly woman, and were calculated to increase those tendencies to exaltation of religious sentiments which were already in need of some controul. From this period, however, St. Teresa continued under the direction of the most learned and eminently pious of the Order of Jesus, and her whole mind seems to have been given up to spiritual exercises, and to have been acted on by visions and supernatural agencies.

* Bichat, Physiological Researches on Life and Death. Trans. by Gold.

One of the last mundane gratifications she clung to was the pleasure she derived from the conversation of certain friends of hers, who were persons of learning, wit, and ingenuity. The Jesuit director, father Balthazar Alvarez du Paz, "a very spiritual man," told her this was "contrary to her perfect sanctification." Her answer was, "that she had hoped her motive in it had always been for the best, and that it seemed a kind of ingratitude in her, entirely to deny herself to certain friends." Accordingly, she renounced this gratification, and "she was favoured with a rapture, in which she heard these words, *spoken in the most interior part of her soul:* 'I will not have thee hold conversation with men, but with angels.'"

But words very like these, words at all events of similar import, were spoken by the Jesuit father to her only a short time previously: and that was the first occasion, moreover, in which she was thus directly addressed supernaturally in distinct and specific terms.

From this period, similar raptures and distinct communications, made when in a state somewhat resembling a waking dream, were of frequent occurrence.

She tells us of the extraordinary consolations and transports of exaltation experienced on such occasions; but she also gives us to understand that these short glimpses of the glories of the spiritual world were followed by long seasons of dejection, of dry-

ness of spirit, desolation of soul, sore trials and grievous temptations. She says of herself, (under the name of a third person) "I know one, who for these forty years (since God had vouchsafed to honour her with special favours) hath not passed one day without anguish and various kinds of sufferings, besides sickness and great fatigues."*

It is observed by Villefore, that what renders operations purely spiritual, so difficult of belief for certain persons, is, that they only judge of the action of the spirit by its relations with the senses. "But the sentiments of the soul are not attached to the organs of the body in certain things, but by divine appointment, and not at all by necessary relations of the organs with those sentiments—nothing is more opposed than the nature of one and the other. Far from the agency of the senses being necessary to the soul to act, the more they have to do with its operation the more they weaken and degrade it: for all action of the senses puts the soul in servitude and dependence, and takes away from it some portion of its nobility and vivacity. 'Les assujettissemens du corps reserrent ses connaissances et bornent l'etendue de ses lumieres; et des qu'elle agit independament et que ses idées et ses perceptions sont immediates, elle a toute un autre force: et ce serait bien mal connaitre l'essence de l'ame que de regarder comme des chimeres ses operations les plus vives et les plus réelles."† St. Augustine said, that what

* Her own Life, ch. 24. † Œuvres, Pref. Tome i. p. 13.

we see by our intelligence, has more of being and of truth than that which we discover by our sight.

A great prelate of France said: "The greatest part of men know God only as something marvellous, obscure, and far removed from humanity, which restrained our inclinations, menaced us with great evils, and against which it was necessary to take precaution. When such men are told to seek God in their own souls, it is to propose to them to go in search of the Divinity into the most unknown lands, for what is more unknown to them than their own hearts, and that impenetrable sanctuary of the soul where God wishes that he should be adored in spirit and in truth! How is it they shall understand heavenly truths, since terrestrial truths, says our Lord, cannot make themselves felt in their minds. Every thing terrestrial disappears as a shadow from the eyes of one who has seen God in the depth of his own soul. It is then God for him who does everything, who gives all, who rules all; but the world sees Him not, and he who has never seen Him has seen nothing, and his life is past in the illusions of a dream."

"We must not believe," says de Villefore, "that there are only agencies of pure intelligence which can give us perceptions and ideas independent of the senses. I say that even sensible objects, which can be present to the spirit, without the ministration of the external organs, do not render its operations less real. It is an error to suppose that every thing

which imprints itself in the spirit by the intervention of the imagination is chimerical. Imagination, properly speaking, is the reservoir of images which objects have imprinted or can imprint in the soul by the senses. *But it adds often much, it spiritualizes them, it perfects them,* and even so to speak perpetuates them: for without further employment of the ministration of the external senses, the soul can represent them *ad infinitum,* though it received only one impression of them by the senses. The imagination, at the same time, is a modification of the soul, and can be the occasional cause of good or evil.—'Cause occasionelle ou de bien ou de mal.' God employs it to be so as He wills it, and in that manner He employs the external senses to give the soul the impression of objects. He is the master of its operations, to draw from it images or ideas, so as to call forth from memory recollections. If these recollections are only conformable to the truth, and represent to the soul some maxim of Scripture, I do not see why one should call the impressions produced, chimeras or phantoms without reality. It is the exterior or sensible appearances of the operation which realizes it. The imagination is not in itself either good or bad; but though it judges of nothing and desires nothing, it may be to the understanding an occasion of good or evil judgment; to the will an occasion of good or bad desire, wh ether it be that truth or error puts it in movement, or cupidity or charity causes it to act."*

* Œuvres sa Vie de S. Therese. Tom. 1. pref. 14.

Independently of the Divine light, which this holy woman is said to have drawn down on her actions by the spirit of prayer, she was endowed with great natural talents, liveliness of imagination, and a keen zest for wit and humour. Her prudence and penetration were admirable. Her deportment graceful and dignified; and in her looks, we are told, were written, in the early part of her life, in unmistakable characters—the amiable sweetness of her temper, the meekness of her nature, the affectionate tenderness of her heart, which gained the love and esteem of all who communicated with her. Many of her sayings are faithful reflections of the beautiful aspects of her religious sentiments:

"Of the succours of this world in time of trouble," she says, "I perceive clearly they are all no better than twigs of dried rosemary, and that there is no leaning upon them, for upon the least weight of contradiction pressing on them they are presently broken. I have learned this by experience, that the true remedy against falling under evils, is to lean on the cross, and to trust to Him who was fastened to it."

When she was informed of some slanders that had been propagated against her, more scandalous than the ordinary run of calumnies that had been her portion, she said of her revilers, "If they knew me thoroughly, they would say much worse of me." When she was asked, on her death bed, if she would be buried in her own convent at Avila, she said, "Have I any thing *mine* in this world?"

When she was establishing her convent at Toledo, she met much opposition and many difficulties, on account of the smallness of the means at her disposal, only a few ducats; but she said of them, "Teresa and this money are, indeed, nothing. But God, Teresa, and these ducats, suffice for the accomplishment of the undertaking."

At Seville, when she was informed she had been cruelly calumniated, and was asked how she could hold her peace, she, smiling at the remark, said: "No music is more agreeable to my ears. They have much reason for what they say." There was an intense love of God and anxiety for the salvation of her fellow creatures in all her thoughts and actions, that breathed out their emotions in almost continuous prayer. In those frequent supplications, "she conjured Almighty God, for the sake of his divine Son, present on our altars, to stem the torrent of vice on earth, and to preserve the world from those horrible profanations in which his mercy is so grievously insulted."

St. Teresa, on returning from Burgos to Avila, was seized with her last illness at Alba; and at the time of her journey, it appears, "was very ill of her usual distemper, of a palsy, and frequent violent vomitings." For thirteen days she continued to give many wholesome instructions to her nuns, with greater energy and tenderness than usual. On the 3rd of October, in the evening, she sprung up in her bed, though very weak, and exclaimed, "O my

Lord, and my spouse, the desired hour is now come. It is now time for me to depart hence. Thy will be done. The hour is at last come, wherein I shall pass out of this exile, and my soul shall enjoy in thy company what it hath so earnestly longed for." "At nine o'clock the same evening she desired and received extreme unction. F. Antony asked her if she would not be buried in her own convent at Avila? To which she answered, as before related, adding, 'Will they not afford me here, a little earth?' She recited often certain verses of the Miserere psalm, especially those words: 'A contrite and humble heart, O God, thou wilt not despise.' This she repeated till her speech failed her. After this she remained fourteen hours, as it were, in a trance, holding a crucifix fast in her hand; and calmly expired at nine o'clock in the evening, on the 4th of October, 1582."*

"The ardour of her desires for the Saviour," says Bossuet, "augmented with age, and the flame of that love of hers for the Lord Jesus Christ, so vivid and stirring in its nature, could no longer be repressed, and kept smouldering, in the ashes of this mortal flesh. This divine malady of love, taking every day new strength, could no longer admit of life being supported."

Numerous miracles, duly attested, are stated, in the life of the saint, to have taken place at her tomb, and at the moment of her death. One of

* Butler's Lives of the Saints, vol. x. p. 690.

the accounts of the latter, in the reports of which several of the nuns who were around the bedside of the saint concurred, was to the effect, that at the moment of the saint's departure, a globe of fire was seen to ascend.

Her body was honourably interred at the expense of the Duke of Alba, at Alba. At the expiration of nine months, the tomb was opened by a principal friar of her Order, and the body was found perfect in all its parts, flexible, and undiscoloured. The same feelings of mistaken piety, bordering on fanaticism, which led to the opening of the grave, occasioned the mutilation of the remains. The Provincial cut off the left hand of the saint, to carry to Avila. The nuns of Alba were greatly afflicted, but that did not prevent the Provincial from effecting his object. The body, placed in a new shroud, was then recommitted to the tomb. Two years later, the body was furtively carried away, in conformity with a decree of a Provincial Chapter of her Order, and removed to Avila in 1585. It was on that occasion of the disinterment of the body, the very questionable practice of mutilating the remains of a person of reputed sanctity was adopted. The practice has been attended with singular reproductions of members, and extraordinary confusion in the property of heads of eminent persons in Spain and Portugal.* In three years more, however, the Duke of Alba, a very formidable personage, resented the

* Vide Appendix.

translation of the saint's remains, obtained an order from Rome for their restoration; and in 1586, the body, being still found uncorrupted, and the joints flexible, was conveyed back to Alba, less however by the left hand, which was retained by the nuns of her Order, in Avila. At Alba, in the church of the monastery of St. Joseph, the body continued undecayed, when the pious and good Teresa was canonized in 1621, and, nearly two centuries later, became the tenant of a magnificent tomb.

Crashaw, while yet a member of the Church of England, consecrated some of his finest verses to the sanctity of "The Spanish Saint," and in praise of her ardent love for her divine Saviour.

The same admirable poet, when he had become a member of the Church of Rome, invoked the saintly being, whose life and departure out of it, had proved to him, while yet a Protestant, "How much less strong is death than love." In the following beautiful lines, the strains of praise have given place to those of prayer:

> "O thou undaunted daughter of desires!
> By all thy dow'r of lights and fires. . . .
> By all of God we have in thee,
> Leave nothing of myself in me.
> Let me so read thy life that I
> Unto all life of mine may die."

I am greatly mistaken, if numbers of that religion which Crashaw first professed, of the spiritually minded—the ardent Christ-loving of all creeds,

when they make themselves acquainted with the writings I have glanced at, in this necessarily brief and imperfect notice, will not feel towards "The undaunted daughter of desires," as Crashaw felt, and to read her life as he did read it.

CHAPTER VII.

THE INQUISITION IN VARIOUS COUNTRIES.

[IN SPAIN.]

THE task assigned to Commissaries of Christian princes of inquiring into opinions hostile to the prevailing faith of the rulers and the ruled of a State, appears to have been first heard of in the days of Maximus, who contended with Theodosius for the empire.

Maximus was the first Christian prince who put heretics to death, namely, the Priscillians and their followers, at the instigation of two episcopal zealots named Ithacius and Idalius.

The Inquisitors of "heretical pravity," and the savagery of their proceedings found no favour, however, in the sight of some of the greatest prelates and doctors of the Roman Catholic religion. The Emperor Theodosius in 382, promulgated a law against the Manicheans, directing them to be punished to the last extremity, their goods to be confiscated, and charging the Prefects with the appointment of inquisitorial agents and informers, to discover and denounce those who should conceal themselves.

Godefroy, the celebrated writer on the jurisprudence of those times, says, this law was the origin of

systematic legalized inquisition and espionage in matters of heresy.

Sanguinary proceedings against heretics had no countenance or support from the Fathers of the early Christian Church. At the instigation of Ithacius, Maximus would have sent his inquisitorial tribunes into Spain, "to inquire into heresy, to search after heretics, and take away their lives and goods, had it not been for St. Martin of Tours."*

"Pope St. Leo the Great," says Fredet, "who lived at a time when the Church was attacked by very dangerous heretics, speaking of the Manicheans, the worst of all, declared that 'ecclesiastical unity was content, even in this case, with the sacerdotal judgment, and avoided all sanguinary punishments.'

"A remarkable fact had recently proved the truth of his assertion. It was against a branch of these sectarians, the Priscillians, that the secular arm first exerted its severity, at Triers, under the emperor Maximus, about the year 385. This event served to shew how adverse the Catholic Church, was to the bloody spirit of persecution: Pope St. Siricius, and the most holy prelates of the West, blamed the rigour that had been exercised against the Priscillians, and the two bishops Ithacius and Idalius, who had obtained their condemnation in a civil court, were themselves condemned for that very reason in the Councils of Milan (A.D. 390) and of Turin (401.)" . .

"Another Christian emperor, Honorius, having

* The Quest. of Witchcraft, Deb. p. 32.

in 410 passed very severe edicts to repress the horrid excesses and cruelties of the Donatists in Africa, St. Augustin, and other orthodox prelates, exerted all their influence to mitigate in favour of these wretched people the severity of the law, and to procure their conversion by instructions and conferences, rather than let their bodies perish by capital punishment. We learn from Possidius, the disciple and friend of St. Augustin, in the life of this holy doctor (v. 14), that they had the satisfaction to succeed in their charitable undertaking."

"When Ethelbert, King of Kent, was converted to the true religion by the apostle of England, St. Austin, he had a great desire that all his subjects should, like him, embrace Christianity; but the Venerable Bede relates, he did not compel any one to do so, because *he had learned from the Roman missionaries* that the service of Christ ought to be voluntary. Pope St. Gregory the Great, by whom these holy missionaries were sent to England, writing to the Bishop of Terracina, who had used some violence against the Jews, said: 'It is by mildness and exhortations, not by threats and terror, that the infidels must be induced to become Christians;' and, again, to a patriarch of Constantinople: 'This is, indeed, a very strange way of preaching, which enforces the true faith by ill treatment!' Such were the principles and the constant doctrine of that holy pontiff.

"St. Bernard, Abbot of Clairvaux, and the

brightest ornament of his age, having learned that a fanatical preacher exhorted the people to murder the Jews as enemies of Christianity, rose against him with all the force of eloquence, and rescued these devoted victims from the danger which threatened them. Pope Clement VI., in a similar outbreak of fanaticism, hastened to forbid, even under penalty of excommunication, any violence to be offered to them, either in their persons or in their property.

"When, likewise, Emmanuel, King of Portugal, ordered some violent measures to be resorted to, apparently for the good of religion, the celebrated Jesuit and historian, Mariana, observed, that the edict was most repugnant to the laws and statutes of the Christian Church, *decretum a legibus et institutis Christianis abhorrens maximè.*

"It was from these sacred statutes and laws, still more from his own benevolent heart, that Fenelon drew the following beautiful maxims and counsels, which he addresses to the son of King James II., called the *Pretender:* 'Above all, never force your subjects to change their religion. No human power can reach the impracticableness of the free will of the heart.'

"Violence can never persuade men, it only serves to make hypocrites. . . . . Grant civil liberty to all, not in approving every thing as good, nor regarding every thing as indifferent, but in tolerating with patience, whatever Almighty God tole-

rates, and endeavouring to correct men by mild persuasion."*

The word Inquisition, suggests ideas fraught with terror, intolerance, and persecution. The abuses of the institution have gained for the designation of it, this obloquy. In the strict signification of the term, it means an *inquiry*. Johnson, in his Dictionary, explains the word as signifying, "a judicial inquiry." And in this sense it is a part of the civil code of every well regulated society. An inquiry into offences against the established creed and worship, and public morals of every Christian country, is sanctioned by the laws and usages which prevail in it. In most European countries, there is a tribunal for the adjudication of such charges. There is no objection to the judicial inquiry; but to the mode of carrying it on, to its executive principle, to its details, when these are bad, there are great and undeniable objections.

Among the crimes cognisable to the Inquisition on the Continent, were magic, divination, sorcery, blasphemy, heresy, polygamy, and other enormous crimes against morality; disturbing of congregations, insulting ministers of religion, committing sacrilege in churches, &c. In England we have had abundance of laws, and no lack of judicial inquiries, to deal with similar offences.

In the capricious reign of Henry the Eighth,

* Life of Fenelon, by Ramsay, p. 176; also Cardinal Bossuet, vol. 3. p. 208. See Fredet's Modern History, 10th Ed. p. 517.

this "husband without fidelity and lover without delicacy," commissioners were appointed to inquire into *heresies*, and irregular practices. This Inquisition was in its power, and the mode of executing its authority not materially different from that established in Catholic countries, yet it will not be presumed that it had the sanction of papal authority, for the "defender of the faith" shewed no inclination to submit his will to the Pope, or to seek his Holiness's ratification of any regulation he might think proper to propose. It is not too much to suppose that had Henry remained in full communion with the Church of Rome, this inquiry into heresies would be dignified not only with the name of Inquisition to which it was fairly entitled, but it would also be designated as popish.

This thing called *heresy* seems to have no definite or general meaning; the lexicographers explain it, as an opinion contrary to the fundamental or orthodox points of religion. It seems to be derived from the French word *heresie*, or from the Latin word *hæresis*, and this latter from *hærere* to stick or adhere, and thus far may very conveniently be applied to different purposes. In Spain it is a denial of transubstantiation; in England, an avowal of it. Henry the Eighth called every man a heretic, who believed more or less than his celebrated six articles; his successor Edward the Sixth threw aside these six articles, and substituted some thirty or forty other articles, to disbelieve, doubt, or dispute which

constituted heresy in his reign. Until men will agree what constitutes orthodoxy in religion, they will never agree as to the proper definition of heresy.

Henry the Eighth, who used to send the Catholic and Protestant tied together to the place of execution, caused nineteen Dutchmen and six women to be arrested on a charge of heresy, they were examined as to their belief in his *six articles*, fourteen of them were burned. This was a British *auto de fé*. One Lambert, a schoolmaster of London, actuated by imprudent zeal, opposed Henry, aided by several of his bishops, in a solemn debate to which he was invited or rather challenged. The question was on the real presence, and Henry being declared victorious, the unfortunate Lambert was ordered to retract his opinion; he refused, was led off to Smithfield, and there burned.

To discover and punish offences against Henry's six articles, was the duty assigned to his inquisitorial commissioners; punishments were awarded according to a fixed scale; the denial of the real presence in the sacrament, subjected the person to death by burning, and to the same forfeiture as in cases of abjuration. The denial of any of the five articles, even though recanted, was punishable by forfeiture of goods and chattels, and imprisonment during the King's pleasure; an obstinate adherence to error, or a relapse, was adjudged to be felony, with death. The marriage of priests was subject to the same punishments. Abstaining from confession

and from receiving the eucharist at the accustomed seasons, subjected the person to fine and imprisonment during the king's pleasure, and if the criminal persevered after correction, he was punished with death and forfeiture, as in cases of felony.

In 1583, the Queen, determined to suppress the Puritanical ministers and their conventicles, appointed Whitgift to carry her views into execution. This zealous churchman informed the Queen, that all spiritual authority of the prelates was of no effect without the sanction of the Crown; and as there was no ecclesiastical commission at that time in force, he engaged her to issue a new one, more arbitrary than any of the former, and conveying more unlimited authority. She appointed forty-four commissioners, twelve of whom were ecclesiastics; three commissioners made a quorum; the jurisdiction of the Court extended over the whole kingdom, and over all orders of men; and every circumstance of its authority, and all its methods of proceeding, were contrary to the clearest principles of law and natural equity. The commissioners were empowered to visit and reform all errors, heresies, schisms, in a word, to regulate all opinions, as well as to punish all breach of uniformity in the exercise of public worship. They were directed to make inquiry, not only by the legal methods of juries and witnesses, but by all other ways and means which they could devise, that is, *by the rack, by torture, by inquisition, by imprisonment*. Where they found reason to sus-

pect any person, they might administer to him an oath, called *ex officio*, by which he was bound to answer all questions, and might thereby be obliged to accuse himself, or his most intimate friend. The fines which they levied were discretionary, and often occasioned the total ruin of the offender, the imprisonment, to which they condemned any delinquent, was limited by no rule but their own pleasure. They assumed a power of imposing on the clergy such new articles of subscription, and consequently of faith, as they thought proper. Though all other spiritual Courts were subject, since the Reformation, to inhibitions from the supreme Courts of law, the ecclesiastical commissions were exempted from that legal jurisdiction, and were liable to no control. And the more to enlarge their authority, they were empowered to punish all incests, adulteries, fornications, all outrages, misbehaviours, and disorders in marriage: and the punishments they might inflict, were according to their wisdom, conscience and discretion.

It was in a great degree to intimidate the Puritan preachers, that Queen Elizabeth, seeing the inefficacy of all other means, caused to be erected this unconstitutional tribunal, called "the High Commission for Ecclesiastical Affairs," the proceedings of which were so offensive, that even her steadiest adherents did not fail to inveigh against it, while the Protestant writers unreservedly bestowed on it the title of INQUISITION, describing it as

"worse than Spanish." The extreme pliancy of the Parliament to the dictates and wishes of the "overruler of the Church," as she called herself, left no hope of peace to the Puritans.

Hume gives the following account of the High Court of Commission: — "Any word or writing which tended towards *heresy*, schism, or sedition, was punishable by the High Commissioners, or any three of them; they alone were judges of what expressions had that tendency: they proceeded not by information, but upon *rumour*, suspicion, or according to their own fancy. They administered an oath, by which the party cited before them, was bound to answer any question which should be propounded to him: whoever refused this oath, though under pretext that he might be thereby brought to accuse himself, or his dearest friend, was punishable by imprisonment. In short, an *inquisitorial tribunal, with all its terrors and iniquities, was erected in the kingdom.* Full discretionary powers were bestowed, with regard to the inquiry, trial, sentence, and penalty inflicted; except only, that corporal punishments were restrained by the patent of the Prince which erected that Court, not by the act of Parliament which empowered him." Milner says, "the Dissenters filled the kingdom with complaints of the oppression which they suffered from this Court during the reigns of Elizabeth and the two Stuarts, representing it as *much more intolerable than the Inquisition itself.*" Maclaine, in his notes

on Mosheim, shews that, "the High Commission Court was empowered to make inquiry, not only by legal means, but also by *rack, torture,* inquisition and imprisonment; that the fines and imprisonment to which it condemned persons, were *limited by no rule, but by its own pleasure.*"

In the reign of Elizabeth, the avowal of transubstantiation, or the denial of her supremacy, brought the savagery of the policy and the executive principles of this Court, its tortures, incarcerations, condemnations, and their final results, on the scaffold and the gibbet, into full effect.

Dr. Milner, in his letters to a Prebendary, says, "it appears by an account of one of the sufferers, that the following tortures were in use against the Catholics in the Tower.

"1. The common rack, in which the limbs were stretched by levers.*

"2. The 'scavenger's daughter,' so called, being a hoop in which the body was bent, until the head and feet met.

"3. The chamber called 'Little ease,' being a hole so small, that a person could neither stand, sit, or lie straight in it.

"4. The iron gauntlets.

"In some instances, needles were thrust under the prisoner's nails."

* The priest Campian underwent it several times, until nearly all his bones were dislocated, insomuch that he was unable to raise either hand, and was publicly executed.

"After this, it may be expected that the justly indignant cry against the Inquisition in Catholic countries, may be extended to all inquisitions, wherever the country, whatever the religion of the inquisitors. The British torture may stand a comparison with the Lisbon tribunal torments, admitting as truth the most exaggerated descriptions of them. Coustos stretched upon the rack, in the dismal dungeon of a Portuguese prison, could not surely envy the happiness of the wretch whose limbs were stretched on the rack in the Tower of London. His dislocated shoulders, while the backs of his hands were forced together behind his back, could not create more pain or more danger than must be felt by the heretic, the back of whose head and feet met while he lay bent on the torturing hoop. The worst of the dungeons of Goa (and these are represented as most wretched) permitted the prisoner to stretch his limbs; that would have been a luxury to the inhabitant of the 'Little ease.'"*

During the long reign of Elizabeth hundreds of persons perished in prisons; vast numbers were tortured; it is calculated that about 1200 suffered confiscation, incarceration, exile, torture, or death on account of their religious opinions, and of ministers of religion, that no less than 142 were put to death, hanged, quartered, and disembowelled, and their bodies disposed of "at the Queen's pleasure."† Owen

* The Inquisition Examined.

† Vide Madden's History of the Penal Laws. Lon. 1847. pp. 113, 114.

Hopton, a Lieutenant of the Tower of London, caused one of his prisoners, a young lady of respectable family, to be severely scourged, because he could not prevail on her to attend the public service of a Church which she deemed heretical. The Governor of York Castle acted, if not with more justice, certainly with less cruelty, he dragged by force his numerous prisoners, and compelled them to be present during the service in a church, to the doctrines of which they were religiously opposed.

A few words on the constitution of this anomalous tribunal—The Inquisition. I have endeavoured to make myself well acquainted with its origin, its progress, and its procedure. This, however, is not the place to enter into any lengthened details on the subject; either of the intentions of its founders, or the abuses of its administration. Any Roman Catholic, tolerably well acquainted with the obligations imposed on his belief, and firmly persuaded of the binding nature of them, will feel no hesitation in stating his conviction, that however good may have been the intentions of the founder of this institution, and of those ecclesiastical persons who were connected with it; however efficient it may have seemed to be, in putting down heterodox opinions on religious matters in particular countries for some time, or in keeping out such heterodox opinions, and all the strife of sectarian bitterness and contention, from other countries, for a longer period—though not preserving, in the meantime, the discipline of the or-

thodox Church and the lives of its ministers from the contaminating influences of connection with the State and its sordid interests and corrupting patronage—the tribunal of the Inquisition has been a great public calamity wherever it has been established, with one exception only, namely, that of Rome itself, and has been exceedingly prejudicial to the true and lasting interests of religion itself.

A very able writer of the Roman Catholic religion, who has written on the Inquisition, though not in an ultra-montane spirit, has the following observations on this subject.

"The first error respecting the Inquisition, is the supposition that it was instituted for the simple protection of religion. I know not how far that might have been the pretext, but I am satisfied it was not the real motive. If the Roman Catholic was the religion of Christ, and so the Pope, the Clergy, and all the Christian world, at one time held it to be, no human agency could overthrow it, it had a *promise* which could not fail to be fulfilled, it had a security for its permanence which no artifice could abridge, it had an all-powerful arm to defend it, and could not require a bloody Inquisition for its support. This tribunal must have been erected by a *state policy only*, and that for *civil* purposes. We must, as I already proposed, exclude all belief in the infallibility of any man, as an article of faith, otherwise we will proceed blindfolded, and may lose our way. We must see in the Pope, a temporal prince

at the head of an earthly kingdom, and also an ecclesiastic at the head of the Catholic Church; and in both situations, a man endowed very probably with more than common talents, and favoured very possibly, with more than a common share of grace, but yet a man who must feel in some degree the applicability to him of the expression "nil humanum a me alienum puto," he had, doubtless, a share of those passions incidental to humanity; he had his fears, his cares, his anxieties; he may, for all I know, have been ambitious, vindictive, tyrannical; I have not studied his character, and pretend not to any knowledge of it. If the opposers of his religion can derive any advantage from attributing to him a full portion of the worst qualities of men filling high stations, I shall leave it to others to defend him; to my purpose it is not very material, for although he should be in fact what his enemies may represent him, yet my case can lose nothing by it. What his private character was may be matter of curiosity or of individual concern; his situation as a personage in high public station, is matter of public concern, and may be collected from the history of the times.

"The period in which Innocent the Third (the reputed founder of the Inquisition) reigned, was anterior to the reformation of Luther. Christendom was nearly all Catholic, the Pope exercised, or attempted to exercise great authority, the princes of Europe, although his spiritual children, and in this point, his inferiors, were very jealous of the authority he pre-

sumed to exercise, they were restiff, and often either menacing or rebellious. To these were added a host of minor enemies, the schismatics and reformers of that day; men who, by their superior address, had obtained an influence not always to be despised for its insignificance, and sometimes dangerous on account of its increasing authority. Sound policy would have dictated to the Pope to defend his person and his territories, by placing an efficient barrier between himself and his enemies. This would have been the duty and the conduct of any other prince, and why not of Innocent the Third? whether the Inquisition was the proper, the only, or the best defence he could have recourse to, whether it was, in his situation, justifiable, whether any danger or exigency could authorize it, or whether he, because head of the Catholic Church, was therefore precluded from the institution of a tribunal, the like of which might in an after age be instituted by the head of another Church, are questions I am not competent to decide, and which cannot, in any case, affect the issue of the present inquiry. If it be made to appear a *state measure*, not dictated nor required by religion, the object with which I took up my pen will be attained. To effect this, it is only necessary to prove, that being opposed to religion, it could not be called for, or sanctioned by it. It was not, at any rate, a mere measure of caprice. Danger menaced: defence was the law of policy and of nature."*

* The Inquisition Examined. New York, 1825, p. 109.

"The Inquisition in Rome was not instituted for the protection of the Pope as head of the Church, but by the civil government for his protection as first magistrate of the civil territory over which he reigns. The Church would not be overthrown by the murder more than it would be by the natural death of Innocent the Third, it is not even certain that it would be injured thereby; nor is it quite certain that it might not be benefited."

A recent Catholic historian, referring to the accusations against the Roman Catholic religion, on account of the sanguinary character of the Spanish Inquisition, and the sweeping condemnation of the institution itself, *ab initio*, observes:

"In answer to these charges, we will remark, in the first place, that the Inquisition forms no part of the Catholic creed, and of the obligatory discipline of the Church. We find, it is true, that it was established in some Catholic States as a political means to maintain the unity of religion within their limits, and remove from them the disturbances occasioned by newly invented systems; but this was commonly done, either at the request, or by the authority of the sovereigns themselves, *e. g.* of king Ferdinand in Spain (A.D. 1480), of John III. in Portugal (A.D. 1557). This Inquisition, therefore, besides being a local and temporary institution, was rather *civil* than *ecclesiastical* in its origin. Its chief members, particularly in Spain, were indeed selected from the ecclesiastical order, but they always re-

mained under the authority of the king, without whose previous consent their decrees could be neither executed, nor even published."*

The celebrated Roman Catholic divine, Dr. Arthur O'Leary, a man of the most liberal, enlightened, and charitable opinions, put forth his sentiments on the subject of the Inquisition, boldly and ably, though not in a manner calculated to conciliate the favour of the Court of Rome and its Princes; nevertheless, subsequently to the publication of those observations of his, the Pope signified his high confidence in the integrity and virtue of the Rev. Arthur O'Leary, by an appropriate act of his approval—Mr. O'Leary was, by a papal bull, elevated to the dignity of a bishop.

"The Pope (says this Rev. divine) was in possession of a city which formerly gave birth to so many heroes, besides a good territory bestowed on him by several sovereigns. He thought it high time to look about him, when all Europe was in one general blaze. The liberty of the gospel preached by Muncer and several other enthusiasts, threw all Germany into a flame, and armed boors against their sovereigns. As he was a *temporal prince*, he dreaded for his sovereignty, as well as other crowned heads in his neighbourhood; and the more so, as his soldiers were better skilled in saying their beads, than handling the musket.

"Great events, the downfall of empires, and the

* Fredet's Modern History, 10th Ed. in 12mo. 1853, p. 506.

rise or destruction of extraordinary characters, are commonly foretold in oracles, both sacred and profane; and he found himself in the same dubious and critical situation with Montezeuma, when the Spaniards landed in America.

"Old prophecies foretel our fall at hand,
When bearded men in floating castles land."

"Long before the Reformation, the dimensions of his city were taken; the line was extended over its walls; and it was discovered that it was 'the great city built on seven hills, the harlot which had made the kings of the earth drunk with her cup; and that her sovereign was antichrist, the man of sin,' mentioned by St. Paul, in his epistle to the Thessalonians. Wickliff, Huss, and Jerome of Prague, had laid down a rule, many years before, that 'Popes, princes, and bishops, in the state of mortal sin, have no power:' and a state of grace was, doubtless, incompatible with the character of Antichrist. Jerome of Prague, who was burned afterwards at Constance, to shew that Rome was the harlot of the Revelations, after beating a monk, and drowning another, dressed one day, a prostitute in a Pope's attire, with the three-crowned cap, made of paper, on her head, and in her head-dress, without being so careful of the rest of her body, led the female pontiff, half-naked, in a procession through the streets of Prague, in derision of a religion professed by the magistrates.

"Some *well-bred* divines there are, who justify

such proceedings, on the principle that it was requisite, at that time, 'to cry aloud, and use a strong wedge to break the knotty block of Popery.' I do not believe there is a well-bred Protestant living, who would applaud either *martyr* or *divine* who would exhibit such a merry spectacle in the streets of Dublin or London; or who would shed a tear for his loss, if, after exhibiting such a show, in Rome or Paris, he fell into the hands of the Inquisition, or were sent to the gallies. The gospel truth is no enemy to decency.

"St. Paul, in pleading his cause before Festus, did not inveigh against his vestal virgins, the adulteries of their gods, or the wickedness of his emperors. Let a religion of state be ever so false, the magistrate who professes it, will feel himself insulted, when it is attacked in a gross, injurious manner: and, if apologies can be made for indecencies and seditious doctrines, under pretence of overthrowing idolatry, some allowance must be made for men who think themselves insulted by such attacks.

"The Pope, then, as a *sovereign prince*, had every thing to dread, when the thrones of the German princes began to totter from the shocks of inspiration: but what still increased his alarms, was, the unfolding of the Revelations, which held him up to all Europe, as the Antichrist, the general enemy of Christians, who should be destroyed. Lest any one should miss his aim, it was proved from the Revelations, that he was the beast with ten horns; and,

in bearing down such a game, the world was to be renewed, and the peaceful reign of the millennium, during which Christ was to reign with the saints on earth, was to begin. The time was approaching. Old John Fox, the martyrologist, says, that after long study and prayers, God had cast suddenly into his mind, by divine inspiration, that the forty-two months must be referred to the church's persecutions, from the time of John the Baptist. This calculation was to bring on the Pope's destruction about the year sixteen hundred. Brightman was more precise, and foretold the final downfall of the Pope, in the year fifteen hundred and forty-six: others in fifteen hundred and fifty-six: and others in fifteen hundred and fifty-nine. Luther came closer to the famous era; and published his prophecy, in which it was revealed to him, that the Pope and the Turk would be destroyed in two years after the date of his oracle. This, certainly, was a close attack on the Pope, who, in all appearance, did not like to die so soon, even of a natural death. He apprehended the accomplishment of the oracles the more, as at that time, almost every one was *inspired*, and ready to do any thing for the destruction of Antichrist.

"Alexander Ross, in his view of religion, describes numbers of those prophets, and amongst the rest one Hermannus Sutor, a cobbler of Optzant, who professed himself a true prophet, and the Messiah Son of God; a very dangerous neighbour

for Antichrist! This man, to receive the prophetic inspiration, stretched himself naked in bed; and, after ordering a hogshead of strong beer to be brought close to him, began to drink in the source of inspiration, and to receive *the spirit by infusion*; when on a sudden, 'he,' to use the words of Alexander Ross, 'with a Stentor's voice and a horrid howling, among other things, often repeated this: 'Kill, cut throats, without any quarter, kill all those monks, all those Popes. Repent, repent; for your deliverance is at hand.' However extraordinary such a character would appear now, yet at that time, inspiration was so frequent, that one would imagine all Germany was a nation of prophets; and Hermannus, who was afterwards put to death by Charles Lord of Guelderland, had credit enough to make proselytes.

"The Pope, thus aimed at, as an object of destruction, from all quarters—and seeing, almost in every nation of Europe, a nursery of prophets foretelling his ruin, and animating the candidates for sanctity to undertake the pious task, began to tremble, not only for his territories, but, moreover, for his personal safety. He knew that the imaginations of his Italian subjects were naturally warm; and that, if but one of them caught the prophetic flame, the stiletto would soon be darted into Antichrist. He found imperial laws already enacted, and as he was a *temporal prince*, whose person was more exposed than any highwayman in Europe, he

copied those laws into his directory; and erected the Inquisition as a barrier between himself and the formidable foes, who not only foretold his downfall, but encouraged their followers to fulfil the prediction.

"The impartial reader, in tracing this formidable tribunal, will discover a *political establishment*, and a *temporal safeguard*. None can infer from its institution, that it is lawful by the principles of religion, to deprive a man of his life, precisely on account of his worship: and every one must acknowledge, that, if ever a prince, whose life and territories were in danger, was authorized to take the severest precautions to secure both, no mortal could plead for greater indulgence in having recourse to rigorous measures, than one who united in his person the dignity of a prince, which at that time was both an object of envy and detestation to people who considered sovereignty as subversive of Christian religion—and the character of a sovereign pontiff, which made him pass for an outlaw, and the great enemy of Christ, in whose destruction the world was so deeply concerned. Let any person put himself in his case, and judge for himself."

The reader is now, pretty fully in possession of the motive with which Innocent III. resorted to the Inquisition, as well as the nature of the provocation which impelled him to that measure. But there are other considerations, besides the motives of Pope Innocent III. or the policy of

that personage in the capacity of a temporal prince, which are not touched on in any of the preceding observations.

The law of limited liability in commercial affairs, is only of recent origin.

The doctrine of separate moral responsibility in the case of two powers, exercised by the same individual, is not of so ancient a date as to derive any Christian prescription from its antiquity.

Fox, the apologist for the Quakers, held this opinion, and elucidated it in his peculiar manner, in a controversy with a prelate of the Established Church. The bishop defended the state and pomp with which he was surrounded, on the ground that he used those things, not as a prelate of Christ's Church, but as a Peer of Parliament. But Fox inquired, when the Peer of Parliament was arraigned at the great Tribunal above, and condemned by it for luxurious living, what was to become of the Christian Bishop.

The alliance of Church and State has produced many evils in the world, but very few of greater magnitude than the Inquisition. The alliance of Church and State is not necessary to the proper administration, or the subsistence of either in its proper sphere. The alliance of Church and State may be made a convenience of the latter, but can never fail to be a detriment, a desecration, and eventually an enslavement of the former.

In England the alliance produced the High Court

of Commission, in Spain the Inquisition, in Ireland the Penal Code; in America it is something to be able to say, *the people who are white* are beholden to exemption from this baneful alliance, for civil and religious liberty.

St. Dominick, a native of Old Castille, was born in 1170, and died in 1221, in Bologna, in his 52nd year. In 1205, then a member of the Augustinian Order of Regular Canons, he accompanied the Bishop of Osmo to Languedoc and the adjacent countries, where his zeal led him to labour among the Albigenses. Their heretical opinions were those of the Waldenses, so called from Peter Waldo, a rich merchant of Lyons, who, about 1160, had suddenly abandoned the world, giving all his goods to the poor, and proposed to himself and his followers to imitate the lives of the Apostles. Waldo and his disciples took the name of "The Poor Men of Lyons." They fell into several extravagances and errors, and were excommunicated by Pope Lucius III.

At Orleans, and other cities in France, in 1022, certain heretics, who seemed to profess Manichean doctrines, were said to be discovered. A council was assembled at Orleans, and the said doctrines and the denounced holders of them were condemned by it, and excommunicated. The secular arm was strengthened by the presence and encouragement of the King; in this instance the condemned were committed to the flames. Among them was a priest

named Etienne, who had been confessor of the Queen Constance.*

The Albigenses, in common with the Waldenses, had mingled many of the remains of the Manichee doctrines, which had been introduced from the East into France and Italy, so early as the 9th century. They were prevalent in Bulgaria in the 8th century. They were known on the continent under different names in the 12th and 13th century,—Petrobrusians, Cathari, The Perfect, Bons-hommes, Pauvres-hommes de Lyon, &c.

"The Albigenses," Butler states, "took their name from the province called, since the 5th century, Albigensis, and the people Albigenses." About Beziers and Castres "they were composed," he says, "of all the former sects, and differed in opinion among themselves."

In 1181, the Cardinal Henri, bishop of Albe, was sent into France by Pope Alexander III. in quality of Legate, to urge measures of military repression against the Albigenses heretics. This prelate, at the head of a considerable army, seized on the castle of Lavaur, and forced Roger de Beziers, and other seigneurs, to abjure their heresy. Alexander III. filled the pontifical chair from 1159 to 1181.

We see, in the convocation of the Council of Verona, for the condemnation of the same heresies, three years later, how little the military apostle,

* Llorente, t. i. p. 20.

Cardinal Henri, and the army who accompanied him, had effected in putting down those errors.

Fleury dates the origin of the tribunal of the Inquisition from the decree of the Council of Verona in 1184, in the pontificate of Pope Lucius III., in which it is ordained, *that the bishops* in Lombardy should make diligent search to detect heretics, and deliver up those that are obstinate to the civil power to be corporally punished.

Mauriquez and Bailly state, that the legate, Peter of Castelnau, was the first Inquisitor, in 1204, during the pontificate of Innocent III. While Malvena asserts that St. Dominick was the first Inquisitor, having been appointed in 1215 by Innocent III.

But the judicial tribunal of the Inquisition, properly so called, took the sole jurisdiction out of the hands of the bishops, and allowed them, but that nominally, only to act in conjunction with the Inquisitors; and the tribunal therefore, so constituted, is of a later date than either the decree of Verona, the appointment of Castlenau, or the commission of St. Dominick.

On the arrival at Montpelier of the Bishop of Osmo and St. Dominick, at the close of 1205, they met some Cistercian abbots, who had been commissioned by Pope Innocent III., to oppose the reigning heretics who had over-run all the countries adjacent to their own in numerous bands, pillaging the inhabitants, plundering and profaning the churches, and putting the priests to death. It was

amongst this people that St. Dominick determined to devote himself to the duties of a missionary. A great many conversions during two years crowned his apostolic labours. The Cistercian abbots returned to their monasteries, the Bishop of Osmo to his diocese.

In 1207, St. Dominick received a commission from the Pope Innocent III., to prosecute the mission for the conversion of the Albigenses.

In 1208, the murder of the Pope's legate, Castelnau, by a servant of the Count of Toulouse, set all France and Italy in a flame.

"The murder of the legate Castelnau," says Llorente, "the subsequent crusade, undertaken at the instance of the Pope, Innocent III., against the heretic Albigenses, and their protector, Raymond, Count Toulouse, were coincident with the initiative steps of the tribunal of the Inquisition in 1208."*

"The legate Arnaud, successor of Castelnau, at this juncture," says Llorente, "charged twelve monks of his order, St. Dominick, and probably some other priests, to preach the crusade against the heretics; to accord indulgences to those who would take part in this war; to note those who refused to engage in them; to inform themselves what was their religious belief; and to put the obstinate at the disposition of Simon Count Montford, who commanded the crusaders."†

An army was dispatched to extirpate the authors

* Llorente, t. i. p. 41. † Ibid. t. i. p. 42.

of those violences. St. Dominick had no share in these transactions; his only weapons were those of prayer and preaching. He predicted, however, a victory at Muret to the Count of Montford, over his heretical enemies in 1213; and the result of that predicted victory was the death of the King of Arragon, and 16,000 of the Albigenses on the field of battle. The continuators of Bollandus charge St. Dominick, as Inquisitor, with having delivered over the Albigenses prisoners to the secular judges to be put to death; and this charge is denied by Echard, Touron, and Butler. During the battle of Muret, Butler states, St. Dominick was not in the field, "but in the church, within the fortress of Muret, at his prayers."

He proceeded to Rome in 1215, to assist at the fourth general Council of Lateran, where the errors of the Albigenses were condemned. The following year, 1216, Pope Innocent III. died, having filled the pontifical chair from 1198, a period of eighteen years. His successor was Honorius III., by whom St. Dominick's new order of Friars Preachers was confirmed in December, 1216.

The third canon of the fourth Council of Lateran (held in 1215) embodied the views of the reigning pontiff, Innocent III., in relation to the heretics of Languedoc, as to the conduct of all proceedings against them on the part of the bishops, and the committal of the execution of their sentences to the secular authorities.

In the early part of the 13th century the Emperor, Frederick II., of Germany, when at Padua, made those decrees whereby heretics were declared punishable with death.

This memorable and atrocious act of Frederick was the precursor of many sanguinary and equally, nay, far more atrocious penal laws for the punishment of persons daring to believe in God, and in religious matters, according to the dictates of their conscience, in England, France, Germany, Italy, Spain, Portugal, &c.

During the life of Frederick II. a commission had been given by the Pope, to inquire into heretical pravity in certain provinces of France, adjacent to the dominions of Frederick.

Up to the time of Innocent III. crusades were preached up against "Mahommedan infidels." The first example of a crusade against "infidels" who had been Christians, ordained and recommended by a Pope, was that which Innocent III. fulminated in his bull against the Vaudois and Albigenses in 1215. Innocent gave the first example of this kind of crusade against people professing to be Christians, and it was imitated by Innocent IV.

Pope Honorius III. began his pontificate in 1216. He sent the Cardinal Bertrand as legate into Languedoc in 1217. "The principal object of his mission," says Llorente, "was to cause the war to be carried on with renewed vigour against the Albigenses."

At the coronation of Frederick II., in 1221, the Pope, Honorius, succeeded in getting this prince to give the force of civil law to a constitution which the Pope had decreed against the heretics.

In 1224, Frederick II., at Padua, published that law of terrible rigour which has been so often referred to.*

In 1227, Honorius III. died, without having been able to give a stable form and constitution to the judicial regime of the new tribunal of the Inquisition. That object was effected by his successor, Gregory IX.

The Albigenses had been warred against in the field for twenty years with terrible inhumanity, which, Butler admits, cannot, and ought not, to be excused. Yet the work of extermination remained to be done in the *salles* and the prisons of the Inquisition, newly organized by Gregory IX.

In 1231, Pope Gregory IX. fulminated a bull of excommunication against all heretics in general, and the Albigenses, and some others, in particular; ordaining procedures, and prescribing penalties, of a severity heretofore unexampled in the annals of the church.

This was the true beginning of the new Inquisition. The Dominicans, as apostolic inquisitors, were specially charged with the execution of the bull of 1231. New and extensive privileges were accorded to it by Pope Innocent IV. in 1246, 1248, 1254;

* Llorente, t. i. p. 52.

Urban IV. in 1265, and Sixtus IV. in 1484, added considerably to its powers and privileges.

Towards the latter end of the reign of the Emperor Frederick, Innocent IV. (who filled the pontifical chair from 1243 to 1254) gave the first sanction to regular proceedings in the case of suspected or accused heretics. But though the tribunal was called "The Inquisition," the institution (as it existed in Spain) generally known by that name is of a much later date. On the death of Frederick, during the disorders of Germany, consequent on a vacancy in the empire, (which endured for many years,) the Pontiff, Innocent IV., introduced the new tribunal into three provinces, where it had been previously unknown, Lombardia, Romanalia, and the Marchia Trevisina.

By several bulls of Innocent IV., addressed to the magistrates of those countries, the observance of the laws of Frederick against heretics is enjoined; the charges of the tribunal of the Inquisition are directed to be provided for and defrayed out of the goods of the persons condemned.

Dr. O'Leary, in his observations on the introduction of the Inquisition into Spain and Portugal, makes the following observations:—"In these two kingdoms the Inquisition owes its origin to causes much similar to those which gave it rise at Rome; but causes, however, which did not so immediately affect the sovereign, who was blended with the common mass of monarchs, without any peculiar distinction to expose him to the hatred of mankind;

or to afford his assassin a plea of impunity, by alleging that he was the deliverer of the world, by ridding it of the enemy of the Son of God, described in the prophecies of Daniel, pointed out in the Revelations, and whose downfall was foretold at such a time by the most celebrated interpreters of Scripture.

"The Spaniards, struggling for a long time with Mahomet's followers who had invaded their country, and reduced them not only to the most abject slavery, but moreover forced them to supply the fire of their lusts with continual fuel, by sending an annual tribute of Christian virgins to their seraglios, made at last that great effort so memorable in history.

"It is well known that before the defeat of the Moors, and their total expulsion from the Spanish dominions, they were preparing underhand for war, and had their leaders already chosen. Banished for ever from a kingdom where they had trampled on the laws which all Christians, and even heathen fathers deemed most sacred, a barrier to their return was erected; and as, by their own laws, every Christian who has had a connexion with a Mahometan woman, is to pass through the fire, the tables were turned on themselves, and the expectants of an earthly paradise were threatened with the faggot, if they returned to initiate the children of Christians into their mysteries."

In a Spanish work of much research, entitled, "Discurso sobre el origen progressos y utilidad del Santo Officio de Espana," printed in Valladolid

in 1802, it is stated that the Inquisition was called into being by Pope Innocent III., in the beginning of the 13th century, when the abbot, Arnaldo Pedro, of Castronuevo, and Randolf, a monk of the Cistercian abbey of Fuenfria, in Narbonne, were sent with full authority with a commission, dated 29th May, 1204, to the province of Toulouse, against the Albigenses. The bishops and magistrates opposed the execution of the commission, and, amongst others, the Bishop of Beziers, having refused at the instance of the commission to excommunicate the civil magistrates of a district, by the permission of the Pontiff, was deposed by the commissioners, "which act only rendered the commission more odious, and no good effect was produced by it." In this state of things, Diego Azevedo, bishop of Osma, then at Rome, who had been ambassador in France of the Spanish King Alfonso XI., undertook, in conjunction with the saintly Domingo of Guzman, a mission to Toulouse, to preach the Gospel to the benighted Albigenses. They laboured together two years; then the bishop returned to his diocese, and left the zealous Domingo the sole charge of the mission. About 1215 he associated several secular priests with him, and in Toulouse, in the church of Jan Roman, laid the foundation of his Order, which was confirmed.

The first chapter of the work begins with the following passage:—"Our most holy patriarch, Dominick, first author of the Holy Inquisition, by

Innocent III. and Honorius III., created Apostolic Inquisitor"—Inquisitor Apostolicus, inquisitorum parens, exempla et norma. The office of Inquisitor is that of a judge, deputed from the Apostolic See in causes appertaining to the glory of God, in faith and ecclesiastical advancement.

Formerly inquisitors were chosen by St. Dominick from his order; but now, in all Italy, they are appointed from cardinals, &c. In 1227, Gregory IX. sent into the same province Cardinal Diacono, called Santo Angel, who celebrated the famous Council of Toulouse, with the assistance of the prelates, barons, and military chiefs, when the decrees were drawn up, in which was prescribed the way to inquire into and punish all heresies, reserving this faculty to the bishops as the natural defenders of the faith. But the same Pontiff, judging that the prelates did not proceed against the heretics with the requisite vigour, committed the charge wholly to the Dominican friars in 1231. The latter executed the order with such zeal, that they and their bishop were expelled from Toulouse by the people and the Count of that name. Subsequently they were reinstated in their offices by the Archbishop of Vienne, by the apostolical authority, and acted conjointly with a Franciscan friar up to 1234.

In 1244 various decrees against the heretics were expedited by the Emperor Francis II., and imperial constitutions, in which the jurisdiction of the Inquisition was privately secured to the Dominicans

and Minors. This was the tribunal set up in Toulouse.

In 1542, it was established in Rome by Paul III. There its chief members consisted of a congregation of six cardinals.

In Paris it wase stablished in 1258, "and lasted," as we are told, "while the piety of the kings of that country endured."

The first arms opposed by Domingo and his followers against the Albigenses, were those of preaching and prayer. "Those Inquisitors, going through all the province of Toulouse, opposed the heretics with preaching and exhortations, moving the magistrates against them, and animating the people with graces and indulgences; so that, under the guidance of those "cruce signatos," they should arm their populations and pursue them (the heretics), in which they had much success, of which history informs us; but up to that time there was no formal establishment of a tribunal."*

In Spain there were several commissions from Rome of an inquisitorial nature, from 1267 to 1471, to inquire into different heresies which had sprung up in that country; but it was only in 1474, in the reign of Ferdinand and Isabella, when religion was in a state of unparalleled disorder, occasioned by the wars *and the existence of the Moors and Jews* in the country, that the proceedings of Inquisitors assumed a formal appearance, and that a tribunal,

* Discorso, sobre el Origen, &c., p. 21.

coadjutorial with the jurisdiction of the bishops, was created. In 1479, the bull of Pope Sixtus IV. was published, appointing Dominican inquisitors, and ordering Seville to be the seat of their jurisdiction.*

In 1524, an inscription was put up in the Inquisition at Seville, setting forth the happy results of its operation; shewing that from the date of the expulsion of the Jews in 1492, about one thousand persons had been burned, and twenty thousand condemned to penitential punishments. The jurisdiction of the holy office extended to all cases of heresy, against heretics, apostates, schismatics, and blasphemers; the believers in heretics, their defenders, and abettors; the defamers of religion; persons knowingly burying heretics in sacred places; notaries and lawyers patronizing heretics; impeders of the officers of the holy tribunal; readers and retainers of prohibited books; unqualified persons personating priests; *also, in some cases, against infidel delinquents in Catholic faith*—"procedunt etiam in aliquis casibus contra infideles in Catholicam fidem delinquentes."

Inquisitors must be above forty years of age, unless by the express permission of the Pope;

* Llorente states, that the bull for the establishment of the tribunal of the Inquisition in Spain was conceded in 1478, but not being entirely to the satisfaction of the sovereign, Isabella, the execution of it was suspended. It was not till 1481 the tribunal was regularly established, and the Apostolic Inquisitors installed in their office in the Dominican convent of Seville, under the pontificate of Pope Sixtus IV.—Llorente, tom. i. p. 149.

when, at the age of thirty they may be appointed, as they are in Portugal. They must be at once theologians and skilful jurists.

In Spain and Portugal, from the Inquisitors General the councillors or deputies are chosen.

Ministers of the Inquisition, being delinquents in their office, can be punished by those by whom they are appointed, *with caution, however*, they ought to be punished—" Cauté tamen punienda sint."

The office of Inquisitor-General in Spain and Portugal is perpetual; he is elected by the King and confirmed by the Pontiff. When bishops and inquisitors proceed under delegated authority, they are equal in proceeding; but in cases of ordinary authority on the part of the bishops, and of delegates on the part of the inquisitors, then that of the latter is superior to that of the former. The jurisdiction of the inquisitors, moreover, in cases of inquiries on grounds of suspicion, deprives prelates of the obedience of their subjects.* No prelate can impede a process of the Inquisition. The Inquisitor-General, moreover, can call before his tribunal all causes touching the faith from the bishops. A prelate without an inquisitor, or an inquisitor without a prelate, can cite, arrest, detain in safe custody, and inquire, but cannot incarcerate for punishment, torment, and condemn. Proceedings in a contrary sense are null and void, and confession under torture without prejudice to the accused.

* Llorente, tom i. p. 24.

The holy tribunal of Piedmont and Savoy was one of the seven "insignes inquisitiones de la fè."

"In Flanders, also, the holy Inquisition was known, as may be inferred from the annals of the country, in which we read of Robert the Dominican, having burned many heretics."*

In Holland it existed also; it was by a Dutch inquisitor that the heretic Herman Riswickwas captured.

In Germany notices of it are found in the Chronicon of Trithemius, of Conrade of Masburgh, a Dominican, who exercised the functions of the office, and for his zeal was martyred by the heretics, as the Abbot Arnald had been in Toulouse.

In Hungary the existence of the Inquisition is also inferred from the martyrdom of two bishops, who were inquisitors, Saints Nicholas and John, according to Leander, in his "Viri Illustri." In Poland also, from the martyrdom of Fr. J. Echenfield, inquisitor of Prague; and likewise in Dalmatia and Istria.†

"In England, Ireland, Scotland, we only know from the Memoirs of the Life of Cardinal Pole, who was a native of that country, and a legate in those islands, that before the unhappy occurrences there the secular judges punished heresy, which was sometimes the cause of spreading so many errors."‡

Inquisitors have the power of proceeding against all persons who having been baptized are judged within the Church, unless in cases of special ex-

* Llorente, tom. i. p. 29. † Ibid. p. 31. ‡ Ibid. p. 32.

emption. They cannot proceed against nuncios, legates, and other officers of the Holy See, nor against bishops, except by information for the Holy See, and in cases of flagrant scandal and apprehended flight, when they can be incarcerated by the officers of the holy tribunal.*

They can proceed against all regular and secular priests.

They can proceed against all emperors, kings, and all other secular powers; with the counsel, however, of the Holy See, if the personages are great, if the peril is mighty, and great perturbations of the people are to be feared.†

They can proceed against bigamists, magicians, and diviners; in the crime of heresy against the dead; *against authorities of towns and temporal rulers refusing to swear to defend the Church against heretics;* against temporal rulers—"dominos tem-

* Llorente, tom. i. p. 29.

† "The Inquisitor-General (of Spain) and the council of the Holy Office," we are told by Llorente, "refused to submit themselves to the bulls of the Pope whenever the communications made to them were not agreeable to them, under pretext that the laws of the kingdom, and the orders of the Spanish government, did not permit to conform to them (the Papal bulls); whilst, on the other hand, they eluded the ordinances of the King whenever it seemed good to them to do so, pleading pretended bulls of Popes, which forbade them to obey (those ordinances) under pain of excommunication: so that they knew how to render themselves independent of both powers when it was their pleasure that affairs should remained buried in secrecy."—Llorente, Hist. Inquis. en Espagn., tom. i. p. 18.

porales," refusing them needful assistance; against laymen disputing matters of faith; confessors abusing their sacred office, &c. &c.*

The Holy Ghost, says Llorente, *charges bishops to govern the Church, acquired by the precious blood of our Lord Jesus Christ.* That charge was taken out of their hands by the Inquisition; and there is abundant proof that all the power of that tribunal was turned against bishops, on divers occasions against several most holy prelates, against saints, even whom the Church has canonized.

We read, in Llorente, of proceedings in the Inquisition against eight venerable prelates and nine doctors of theology, who had assisted at the Council of Trent.†

The Inquisition excommunicated the bishop of Murcia, ordered the imprisonment of a bishop of Carthagena, who had opposed in the Indies some of their proceedings.

Judicial proceedings were commenced *intentés* against several prelates of great reputation. Caranza, archbishop of Toledo, and primate of Spain—Guerrero, archbishop of Grenada—Blanco, bishop of Leon—Cuæsta, bishop of the same see—Carrionero, bishop of Almeria—Melchior Cano, bishop of the Canaries, an archbishop of Secombria, an archbishop of Burgos, another of Talavera, another of Grenada, another of Zamora, even against the hero

* Sobre el Origin et del Santo Officio de Espana.

† Llorente, t. iii. p. 62.

of Christianity of his age, Las Casas, bishop of Chiapa; a bishop of Marseilles, and eighteen other prelates, an account of whom is given in Llorente, tome iii. p. 96.

Proceedings were meditated also in the Spanish Inquisition against St. Francis of Loyola, as a fanatic and illuminée, against his successor the General of the Order, Lainez, and St. Francis Borgia of the same order.

The saints themselves, we find, were not exempt from the tender cares of the Spanish Inquisition.

St. Teresa only escaped imprisonment on account of the suspension of the process for further proofs; but she was tormented by menaces of prosecution, and citations, and investigations of inquisitors, accompanied by bands of armed men, as her letters inform us.† The venerable F. Luis de Grenada, was three times subjected to proceedings against him on the part of the Inquisition, once as an illuminée.

"The blessed Jean de Ribero," patriarch of Antioch. The venerable Jean D'Avila, called "The Apostle of Andalusia," and St. John of God, the founder of the congregation of the Hospitalers. All these were persons of suspected faith, against whom proceedings were instituted by the Spanish Inquisition.‡

During the eighteen years of the inquisitorial

* Llorente, tom. iii. p. 102. † Ib. p. 114.

‡ Ib. p. 102, 110.

ministry of Torquemada, in Spain, that relentless man, we are told by Llorente, caused ten thousand two hundred and twenty persons to perish in the flames.*

The expulsion from Spain of Jews, Moors, and Christians, on account of religion, or rather in its abused name, is estimated at nearly three millions, by Llorenté.

The same writer, in his recapitulation of the condemnations of the Spanish Inquisition, during the whole term of its existence, gives the following results :†

Burned in person . .	31,912
——— in effigy . .	17,659
Sentenced to rigorous penalties	291,450
Total	341,021

The Inquisition was abolished in Spain in the latter part of 1812. The 7th of March, 1813, Sir Arthur Wellesley being then in Spain, advantage was taken of his supposed opposition to the measures of the liberals to resist this particular measure. The Cortes had ordered the decree for the abolition of this institution to be read in the churches of Cadiz. The Governor of Cadiz, a man known to be strongly opposed to the Inquisition, was removed from his office at the instance of the clergy by the regency, and a warm advocate of it

* Llorente, tom. i. p. 281. † Ib. tom. iv. p. 271.

was placed in his stead; violent dissensions and broils arose (and the English influence did not fail to suffer.) The Cadiz liberal press teemed with writings against the English Government, "and every effort was made (says Napier) to create a hatred of the British General and his troops. These efforts were not founded entirely on falsehoods, and were far from being unsuccessful, because the eager desire to preserve the Inquisition, displayed by the Duke of Wellington and his brother Sir Henry Wellesley, although arising from military considerations, was too much in accord with the known tendency of the English cabinet's policy not to excite the suspicions of the whole liberal party."*

In 1814, on the return of Ferdinand VII. to his dominions, the Inquisition was restored, not however to its former glory, but shorn of its sanguinary beams—a ghost of the old terrible tribunal, with little left of its ancient power to torture, terrify, and persecute its victims.

I cannot better conclude this part of my subject than with the words of a Roman Catholic priest, who was an honour to his order and to his Church, the enlightened Arthur O'Leary:

"Let legislators, who were the first to invent the cruel method of punishing errors of the mind with the excruciating tortures of the body, and anticipating the rigour of eternal justice, answer for their own laws, I am of opinion that the true religion,

* Napier's Peninsular War, vol. v. p. 405.

propagated by the effusion of the blood of its martyrs, would still triumph without burning the flesh of heretics; and the Protestant and Catholic legislators, who have substituted the blazing pile in the room of Phalaris's brazen bull, might have pointed out a more lenient punishment for victims, who, in their opinion, had no prospect during the interminable space of a boundless eternity, but that of passing from one fire into another."

"If in latter ages," says the Doctor, "some popes and bishops deviated from the plan of meekness and moderation, their conduct should not involve a consequence injurious to the principles of the Catholic church, which *condemns such proceedings.* The religion of Catholics and Protestants condemns frauds, drunkenness, revenge, duelling, perjury, &c. Some of their relaxed and impious writers have even attempted not only to palliate but to apologize for such disorders. The children of the Christian religion daily practise them: is the Christian religion accountable for the breach of its laws?"

CHAPTER VIII.

THE INQUISITION IN VARIOUS COUNTRIES.

[IN PORTUGAL.]

THE most authentic particulars relative to the origin, proceedings, and usages of the Portuguese Inquisition, are to be found in an official work of the holy Office in Portugal, for the guidance of all officers of that tribunal. The work, entitled "Aphorismi Inquisitorum, authore P. Fr. Antonio de Sousa consilario regis et supremi I. Inquisitionis tribunalis," was published in Lisbon in 1630.

In this work, we are told, that after the Jews, by the counsel and persuasion of Fr. Thomas of Torquemado, were expelled from Spain by orders of Ferdinand and Isabella, in accordance with the precept of the Council of Toledo, celebrated in 638, by which all princes of Spain, prior to their ascending the throne, must swear not to permit any infidel to live in their dominions, many of the expelled Jews fled into Portugal, John II. being then king. They were given an asylum till their insidious arts, *and many other malign acts, which this people perpetrated in those provinces and kingdom, took away all consideration for them.* Their expulsion was decreed, and a stated time given for their departure; at the

expiration of which all who remained were to be imprisoned, reduced into slavery, and sold,—"libertate privati atque in servitutem redacti, ut captivi venundabantur."

In 1497, Don Emmanuel having succeeded John II., the decree was put in force, and expulsion ordained under the same penalties. Great numbers departed, but many who had establishments, trades, and professions, and possessed property, remained, *it being compulsory on them to become Christians; under this condition, however, that before twenty years elapsed (ante viginti annos elapsos) it should not be lawful to make any inquiry concerning them, touching matters of faith. And with this condition, with the sacred baptismal water, they were cleansed.* Nevertheless, it was soon found they only feigned to be members of the Catholic faith, and that their children were brought up in the ancient errors of Judæism.

In 1521, A.D., Don John III. succeeded Emmanuel; and it being notorious that not only Judæism was publicly professed, but that their servants, and others who were of their blood, but old Christians were infected with their doctrines, despised the sacraments, even on their death beds, and irreverentially treated images of the saints and of the blessed Virgin Mary especially, *the King made this state of things known to Clement VII., and urgently solicited to have the tribunal of the Holy Inquisition established in his realm;* and in 1531, the first con-

cession, in an apostolic brief, was given by his holiness—in forma juris. In 1534, the Jews, by their supplications and assiduous negociations, obtained from Paul III. an indulgence, which suspended the operation of the proceedings of the tribunal of the Inquisition against them for that and the following year, and certain immunities were also conceded to them which were subsequently, on account of their malice, revoked.

D. John III. having succeeded D. Emmanuel, and being inflamed with a most holy zeal, having found that the attention of the Pontiff had not been given to the matters concerning the holy office in Portugal, so as to supply a proper remedy (to existing evils in matters of faith) in the most suitable form, laid before the Court of Rome *all the representations which had been made (from Portugal) to his predecessor Clement VII., and also to himself for the space of fifteen years.* To which communication, acquiescence in its reasonings having been signified by his holiness the Pontiff, the bull of the Inquisition, in the year 1536, was expedited to the said king D. John III.

The first general of the office of inquisitor was Fr. Diacus of Sylva, of the Franciscan order of Minors, bishop of Septa, afterwards archbishop of Braga.

The second, was the Cardinal Henry, the King's brother. He retained the office of inquisitor fifteen months after he became king, and also the style of

it: — "Ego rex tanquam Inquisitor Generalis," &c. and he filled the office at once of king, priest, cardinal legate à latere, and Inquisitor-General.

The third was D. Manuel Menezes, bishop of Coimbra.

The fourth was D. George of Almeida, abbot and archbishop of Lisbon.

The fifth was Cardinal Albert, archduke of Austria, son of the Emperor Maximilian, legate à latere, and governor of Lisbon (under the Spaniards).

The sixth was D. Mattos of Noronha, bishop of Elvas.

The seventh was D. George of Attaida, chaplain of the King's house and court (during some years of the Spanish regime).

The eighth was D. Alexander, archbishop of Evora.

The ninth was D. Peter of Castile, chaplain to the King's house and court, bishop of Leria.

The tenth was D. F. M. Mascarhenas, bishop of Algarve.

The eleventh, and last mentioned in this work, was D. Francis of Castro, bishop of Œgeditanensis, a former rector of Coimbra. This account is thus brought down to the year 1620, or thereabouts.

It is to be observed that no mention is made of any Dominican up to that time having held the office. Neither in the lists of the councillors and inquisitors of the holy office is mention to be found,

but of Doctors of canon law of the University of Coimbra, with a few exceptions of Doctors of theology, who were of the order of Preachers.

The Inquisition was established in Lisbon in 1539.

In Evora the bull of the Inquisition was first published in October, 1536, and a branch of the holy office was also established in that place in 1539.

In Coimbra the institution was established in 1541, the first commissary inquisitorial was a Dominican, but his authority was shared with a bachelor of canon law.

The institution was established in Goa, in 1560, fifteen years after urgent solicitations of S. Francis Xavier, then (1545) in those regions of the East Indies, "in quibus instanter ab eadem rege postulabat, ut in tanta perfidiæ remedium Inquisitionis officium in illam regionem mittendam curaret."

A very valuable collection of the *original official* sentences of the Inquisitions of Lisbon, Evora and Coimbra, hitherto unpublished, forming part of the archives of the department of the Minister of Justice, entitled, "Listas dos Penitenciados pelo Santo officio de Evora, Coimbra, e Lisboa," was kindly placed in my hands by the Viscount of Sa de Bandeira in 1846, in Lisbon, and from them the following important details are taken.* The

* Of the 35 lists of which the collection consists four are in MS. The typography of each of the printed ones differs in some respects. All evidently had appeared at the time of the proceedings of which they treat.

earliest Auto da Fé recorded in this collection is one dated 1706, the latest 1778. A period of 72 years is embraced in the account of those proceedings of the holy office in Portugal.

In Lisbon the number of autos recorded was 18.

In Evora the number of autos was 9.

In Coimbra the number of autos was 8.

The number of persons sentenced must have exceeded a thousand.

Total number of autos in Portugal, recorded in that period of 72 years, is 35.

The autos of Lisbon were in 1711, 1726, 1729, 1731, 1732, 1733, 1735, 1739, 1741, 1744, 1747, 1748, 1749, 1752, 1758, 1761, 1767, 1778; of those in Evora, in 1732, 1736, 1744, 1747, 1752, 1755, 1756, 1757, 1759; in Coimbra 1706, 1721, 1726, 1728, 1734, 1742, 1751, 1753.

The first record of the auto-da-fé in Lisbon is entitled "Lista das pessoas e condenacoes e sentenças que celebrao no auto publico da fè en Lisboa, Domingo, 26 Julio 1711, ne Rocco. Nuno da Cunha de Alaide Bispo e do concelho de sua magestada," &c.

There were 51 sentences of male culprits, and 67 of women. Among the former there was one aged 17, and five under 20 years of age. Among the latter there was one of 14, one of 17, one of 19, and ten under 25. There were two sentenced to death in this auto, and both women, were "Christianos novos," converted Jews, and both for relapsing into

Judæism. One was the wife of a doctor, aged 49, the other a widow of 67 years of age. The sentences of all were read at this "auto publico de fé," on Sunday the 26th July, 1711.

There were six culprits charged with bigamy, three were to be imprisoned in a fortress three years; the others flogged and sent to the galleys for five years. A parish priest charged with recommending women to be re-baptized and with Molinism, to be transported to Africa and degraded. A layman charged with hearing confessions and saying mass, making an offering of himself to the devil and saying he was a qualificator of the holy office, to be transported to India for ten years. Another for using superstitious means, and remedies, against wounds, and "the presumption of having made a compact with the devil," to be imprisoned indefinitely and flogged; 39 "Christianos novos," one of them "tres quartos de Christiano Novo," three-fourths of a converted Jew, charged with relapsing into Judæism. Four had relapsed twice, thrice, four, five, six, and even seven times, the sentences varied according to the number of relapses—imprisonment indefinite and perpetual, the habit for a time and for perpetuity.

Of the female culprits, one a widow, for blasphemy, 52 years of age, to be flogged, and three years imprisonment in Castro Marini. Another aged 42, for bigamy, to be flogged and transported to the Brazils for five years. Another aged 32, for feigning visions and revelations from heaven, "being reputed

a saint," proffering blasphemous aud indecorous words, "et piarium aurium offensivas," and on presumption of a compact with the devil, to be gagged, flogged, and transported for eight years to Angola. Forty-two women, Christianos novos, for relapsing into Judæism, to be imprisoned indefinitely with the habit, and for life with the same.

This is a fair abstract of the 118 cases of the auto-da-fé of 1711, upwards of two-thirds of which cases were those of "converted Jews," as they were called, who were compelled to call themselves Christianos novos. What is astonishing in these sentences is, that the fact of the continual relapses even to the seventh time of persons, constrained to change the name of their religious creed, never convinced the Inquisitors of the utter folly and futility of all attempts to change men's religious sentiments by force.

I shall now proceed with the other lists, but without entering into the same minute details as in the record of the former auto, for the sameness of the charges and results is such as render it unnecessary to do more than notice the more remarkable cases. In the auto at Lisbon on the 13th of October, 1726, a friar of Belem for having married, to be transported for seven years to Angola. In this auto of 1726, there were 37 men and 31 women sentenced. Three were condemned to death.*

* I find in a Lisbon newspaper of 1723, an account of an auto-da-fé in that city of which there is no detailed mention in the *Colle-*

A priest, 44 years of age, convicted of pertinacity in, and preference for the law of Moses and other errors. A mercantile man, a Spaniard, aged 53, for heresy, but described in a jargon of the holy office, that is like the refrain of an old song, that recurs at the fag end of almost every sentence in bad cases, with some slight omissions or transpositions of the legal slang of the Inquisitors: "Confieto, fieto, falso simulado confitente diminuto, e impenitente;" the third, a woman aged 65, whose guilt is declared in the same untranslateable jargon. The total number of male "Christianos novos" for relapses, sentenced to imprisonment, temporary or perpetual, men 34, and of females 30.

One of the culprits condemned to imprisonment and the habit, at the discretion of the holy office, was charged with following the errors of the Protestant religion.

Inquisition of Evora.

List of persons sentenced, whose sentences were read at the public auto-da-fé of Evora, the 21st September, 1732, the Inquisitor-general being the most excellent and reverend Senhor Nuno da

cao de Listas. In the Gazeta de Lisboa of the 14th October, 1723, the following notice appears. "There was an auto-da-fé in public, on Sunday, in the church of the convent of St. Domingo of this city, when the sentences of 54 persons were read, 35 men and 19 women, penanced (penitenciados) for various crimes. Four men were broken (relaxados em carne), one of whom suffered death by hanging, the other three were burned after being strangled," (em garrotè.)

Cunha, Presbyter-cardinal of the holy church of Rome, and of the council of state of his Majesty, 8 sentences of male culprits, and 8 of females, to imprisonment in some cases with flogging, or transportation; there were no capital punishments. All the cases, with two exceptions of Christianos novos, those of blasphemy or bigamy.

Auto-da-fé in Evora, 5th of February, 1736; 15 men and 17 women sentenced, as in the former auto; no capital punishment.

Auto-da-fé in Evora, 18th October, 1744; 23 men and 22 women, sentenced as in the former auto; no capital punishment.

Auto-da-fé in Evora, 19th March, 1747; 17 men and 26 women, sentences as in the former auto; no capital punishments; several of the cases were presumptions of compact with the devil, superstitious practices, perjuries, and bigamy.

Auto-da-fé in Evora, 27th April, 1755; 15 men and 16 women sentenced as in the former auto; no capital punishment.

Auto-da-fé in Evora, 20th June, 1756; 29 men and 33 women, sentenced as in the former auto; two Christianos novos condemned to death. A vast number of the former convictions were of Christianos novos.

Auto-da-fé in Evora, 25th September, 1757; 18 men and 34 women, sentenced as in the former auto. One women of 72, a Christiano novo, condemned to death—reprieved.

Auto-da-fé in Evora, 6th May, 1759; 16 men and 27 women, sentenced as in the former auto; one condemned to death.

Inquisition of Coimbra.

Auto-da-fé in Coimbra, 5th July, 1706; 46 men and 52 women, all sentenced to imprisonment with or without flogging, temporary or perpetual, or transportation. One condemned to be relaxado em estatua, executed in effigy, Doctor Rodriquez de Mesquita, Christiano novo, a relapsed convert.

Auto-da-fé in Coimbra, 30th Juue, 1726; 48 men and 47 women, sentenced as in the former auto, no capital conviction. One culprit sentenced to be exiled for two years from his place of residence, for delivery of a letter of advice to an imprisoned Christiano novo; with half a dozen exceptions, these 95 cases were of relapsed Christianos novos.

Auto-da-fé in Coimbra, 27th May, 1727, 42 men and 60 women, sentenced as in the former auto; no capital punishment.

Auto-da-fé in Coimbra, 9th May, 1720; 24 men and 55 women, sentenced to imprisonment and transportation, all with 16 exceptions, Christianos novos, charged with relapsing into Judæism. There were no capital condemnations. A Swiss merchant of Oporto, a Protestant, charged with spreading writings against Catholic doctrines, was convicted, but pardoned in consequence of embracing the Catholic religion.

Auto-da-fé 5th of December, 1734, in Coimbra, 30 men and 23 women, sentenced as in the former auto; no capital condemnation. Two priests of the habit of St. Peter, charged with exorcising people for unworthy objects, and presumption of compact with the devil, sentenced to three years absence from the diocese they belonged to. All, with three or four exceptions, were Christianos novos.

At the auto-da-fé, in Coimbra, 9th of May, 1728, 24 men and 75 women were presented publicly as persons condemned to minor punishments: and, as in the former auto, there was no capital punishment there. The Swiss Protestant, charged with diffusing heretical writings, who was released, and escaped punishment, having conformed to the Catholic religion, again admonished; an artizan, charged with idolatry, to be imprisoned and exiled for two years; a surgeon, with superstitious cures, and presumed compact with the devil, same penalty, only an augmented term of exile; another person, charged with idolatry and blasphemy, to be flogged, gagged, and sent for four years to a fortress; all the rest "Christianos novos" charged with relapses.

Auto-da-fé, in Coimbra, 5th December, 1734; 30 men and 23 women sentenced as in the preceding auto. No capital punishment. Two friars, of the habit of St. Peter, charged with exorcising persons for ends contrary to the intentions of the Church, and presumption of compact with the devil, to be deprived of the power of exorcising, and exiled for

three years. The rest, with six exceptions, were "Christianos novos," charged with relapses.

Auto-da-fé, in Coimbra, the 8th June, 1742; 23 men and 19 women sentenced as in the preceding auto. No capital punishment. One of the former, an official of the Inquisition, charged with providing testimonies, and arresting a certain person in the name, but without the sanction, of the holy office, being a second offence, to be confined in a fortress for seven years.

Auto-da-fé, in Coimbra, 22nd August, 1751; 30 men and 10 women sentenced as in the former auto. No capital punishment. All cases of relapsed Jews, with five exceptions.

Auto-da-fé, in Coimbra, 27th July, 1755; 9 men and 18 women sentenced as in the former auto. No capital punishment. The father Azevedo of the habit of St. Peter, charged with feigning to be a commissary of the holy office, and causing great prejudice to a third party, to be imprisoned in a fortress four years; another father, of his habit, for a presumed compact with the devil, and illicit exorcisings, suspension and exile.

Auto-da-fé, in Coimbra, 23rd December, 1759; 21 men and 13 women sentenced as in the preceding auto. No capital condemnation. The Father Domingo, of the habit of St. Peter, for very grave disorders; and two other priests of the same habit, abuses of their functions, with rebaptizing a woman, one to be transported to Africa for life, another for

four years, another for eight years. A great many persons of the labouring class, some charged with secret assemblies and superstitious practices, to which they gave the name of the Apostolate of St. Matthew, professing to reform religion, and uttering blasphemies against the Holy Trinity and the Virgin, sentenced to be flogged and imprisoned.

The record of the auto-da-fé of the 16th of October, 1729, in Lisbon, gives an account of forty sentences of male culprits, of forty ditto of females; and of ten capital punishments, five of men and five of women. This auto seems to have been regulated by some arithmetician, so far as providing the victims for it. One was a doctor, another a merchant, the whole "Christianos novos." Their crime is described in the same jargon as I have referred to.

For the auto-da-fé, celebrated on Sunday the 15th of June, 1731, in Lisbon, there were 38 men sentenced; 34 women, 12 condemned to death, and two, who died in prison, to be executed in effigy. One for use of *mandengas*, to be flogged and the galleys for four years. A friar for Molinism, banishment to Algarve for eight years; another, without faculties, for hearing confessions, four years at the galleys; another friar, a bachelor in canon law, for declaring himself God, *Se fazer Deos*, and second Redeemer of the human race, perpetual imprisonment and habit. Four negro slaves for Fetich crimes, compact with the devil, and adoration of him as a God, to be flogged, and four years

at the galleys. Twenty-three of the male convicts were "Christianos novos," charged with relapsing divers times. All the females, with two exceptions, charged with the same offence. Of the twelve, "relaxadas em carne," eight were women; the guilt of all specified in the same judicial jargon.

Auto-da-fé on Sunday, the 6th of June, 1732, 44 men sentenced, 27 women, and 8 "relaxadas em carne." Of the former, punished with imprisonment, was a friar of San Pedro's habit,* charged with marrying, to be suspended and sent to the galleys for three years; a friar for Molinism and abuse of his clerical functions, to be condemned to total silence, suspended and banished. The great majority of the culprits, as usual, "Christianos novos," charged with relapses. Of the 27 female culprits, one was a widow, 84 years of age, charged with Fetich superstitions, and presumption of compact with the devil, to be banished for three years. Another, charged with Molinism and "accoes torpissimas," five years banishment to Algarve; another, aged 66, living on her property, charged with a similar offence, and presumption of a demoniacal compact, to be flogged, imprisoned, and transported for ten years to Africa. All the women, with three exceptions, "Christianos novos." Of the eight

* The Pedroite friars appear to have been particularly obnoxious to the officers of the Inquisition, or particularly lax in their discipline.

condemned to death, two were women. All were "Christianos novos."

In the auto-da-fé, celebrated on the 20th of September, 1733, there were 32 men and 22 women sentenced to imprisonment for various periods, and four condemned to death, one a female, all "Christianos novos." All the women sentenced, with two exceptions, were relapsed Jews; and all the men, with four exceptions. Three of them were doctors. The doctors in Portugal were evidently in bad odour with the holy office. Two of the poor women were guilty of being reputed saints; banishment in one case for three years, in another for four years, was their doom.

Auto-da-fé, celebrated on Sunday, 24th of July, 1735, at Lisbon; 33 men sentenced, and 29 women; seven condemned to death. A deacon of the habit of St. Peter, for saying mass without faculties, five years galleys; a subdeacon, of the same habit, for same offence, seven years galleys; another in minor orders, for same offence, to be whipped and sent to the galleys for five years; two persons for bigamy, same punishment; a presbyter of the habit of St. Peter, for feigning inspirations and revelations, six years degradation in Africa; all the rest were "Christianos novos." All the female culprits were "Christianos novos," with one exception, charged with relapses. Of the seven condemned to death, four were women.

Auto-da-fé of the 18th of October, 1739, in

Lisbon; 21 males and 25 females sentenced; 11 condemned to death, of whom 9 were "Christianos novos." Of those sentenced to imprisonment, one was a girl of sixteen, another of eighteen years of age, charged with relapsing into Judæism.

Auto-da-fé, 18th June, 1741, 18 men were sentenced and 5 women; no condemnations to death. One charge was of blasphemy, one of superstitious practices, one of bigamy, another of assuming the functions of a priest without faculties (a friar of the habit of St. Pedro). The rest of the cases were of "Christianos novos" relapsing into Judæism, with one exception.

Auto-da-fé of the 21st of June, 1744, in Lisbon, 22 men and 11 women sentenced to imprisonment or transportation, or the galleys, with or without flogging, 8 condemned to death. Of the culprits to be imprisoned, or transported, one was John Custon, a native of Cantao of Bazileo, "a Protestant heretic," charged with introducing the sect of Freemasons, sentenced to the galleys for four years; one boy of sixteen, a "Christiano novo," was sentenced to perpetual imprisonment, and the habit for relapsing into Judæism; one girl of sixteen, of the same class, for the same crime, to the same penalty. One of the persons condemned to death was a friar of the habit of San Pedro, convicted of many heretical errors; another, named Henequim, for writing many heretical doctrines, and defending them.

Auto-da-fé in Lisbon, 24th September, 1747;

24 men and 22 women sentenced to imprisonment and transportation, and two "Christianos novos" condemned to death. Of the former, one a young woman of nineteen, for feigning visions, and being reputed a saint, was sentenced to be flogged and exiled for three years; all the rest "Christianos novos;" one a girl of sixteen, imprisoned indefinitely for relapsing into Judæism.

Auto-da-fé in Lisbon, 20th October, 1748; 21 men and 14 women sentenced to imprisonment and transportation; 3 condemned to death. Of the former, a Moorish sailor was sentenced to be flogged and sent four years to the galleys, for feigning to be a Christian and uttering blasphemies. The rest of the males, with two exceptions, were "Christianos novos;" and of the women, with one exception, that of a nun expelled from a convent charged with making a compact with the devil, and feigning revelations, sentenced to perpetual imprisonment; all those condemned to death were "Christianos novos."

Auto-da-fé in Lisbon, 16th of November, 1749; 27 men and 17 women were condemned to various punishments, and two condemned to death. This auto presented the same features as the preceding.

The next in Lisbon, of the 24th of September, 1752 (during Pombal's administration); 30 men and 27 women were sentenced to imprisonment and transportation, and 4 were condemned to death; one a lay friar, for hearing confessions without faculties and error of Molino, degradation for ten years,

and one of them imprisonment in his convent; the others, men and women, were "Christianos novos," charged with relapses, as were the four persons condemned to death.

Auto-da-fé of the 27th August, 1758, in Lisbon; 18 men and 21 women sentenced to imprisonment, flogging, or transportation. No capital condemnations. The father Elwes, secular priest, for disorders, to be suspended and degraded; another secular priest, for same offence, to be suspended and transported to Africa. The rest, with four or five exceptions, cases of relapses of "Christianos novos."

Auto-da-fé of the 20th of December, 1761, in Lisbon, (during Pombal's administration); 35 men and 18 women sentenced to imprisonment, with or without flogging, or transportation; four were sentenced to capital punishment. The reader's attention is requested to the particulars of this auto.

"A person (a Benedictine monk) taken for crimes, the adjudication of which appertained to the holy office, was *liberated*, his innocence having been ascertained." This is the first entry of a liberation in the lists up to the date of December, 1761. Alexander J. C. V. Bulhoens Miranda, for crediting and spreading some predictions and idle dreams and revelations, prejudicial to the public tranquillity and the government, to be flogged and transported to Angola for eight years. Friar Gabriel of the Annunciation, for abuse of his office, two years imprisonment. A considerable number of persons sentenced

to imprisonment, and more such sentences accompanied with flogging than in any previous auto, on charges of pretensions to extraordinary sanctity and virtue, or of predicting events (be it remembered Pombal considered all such acts as the latter in the light of treasons against him). There was a great decrease of convictions of "Christianos novos." The holy office was then turned to the account of political animosities. Under the head, "Persons put to death," we find the following record, "*Relaxad em carne*, with a gag and a label of herèsiarch—*the father Gabriel Malagrida* (aged 62), of the company of Jesus, priest, confessor, and missionary, native of the city of Henage, bishopric of Como, Duchy of Milan, and a resident in this city, *convicto, victo, falso, confitente, revogante e perfidente por erros hereticos.*"

Of the four persons to be *relaxados em carne* at this auto only, was to be "executed in the flesh," Padre Gabriel Malagrida, by the death of the garrote, and afterwards to be burned.* Another, Francis Xavier, of Oliveira, a knight of a religious order of the accountant-general's office, absent in London, *convicto, negativo, ribeldè*, to be executed in effigy; and two female relapsed "Christianos novos," who had died in prison, to have their bones burned, and be executed in effigy.

* Thus perished the celebrated priest Malagrida, a man of great zeal and piety, driven mad by the atrocious cruelties of Pombal's persecution in the fortress of Jonqueiro, near Lisbon.

Auto-da-fé of the 20th September, 1767, in Lisbon; 13 men and 2 women, sentenced to imprisonment or transportation. No capital condemnations.

In the record of the auto-da-fé, in Lisbon, in 1767, it is to be observed, that there is not a single sentence of a "Christianos novo" recorded in it. The credit of this is due to Pombal, with all his crimes against humanity; the merit of the cessation of those barbarous proceedings against the Jews, who were called "Christianos novos," is certainly due to him. One of his decrees that abolished the distinction between new and old Christians, put it out of the power of malevolence or fanaticism to single out the nominally converted Jews for persecution.

Auto-da-fé of the 11th October, 1778, in Lisbon; 9 men sentenced to imprisonment or transportation. Jose de Locera, a soldier, charged with having prohibited books, with having been an *Atheista externa*, denying the mysteries of religion, and saying the religion of every country was good, and ought to be practised by those in it, with denying the immortality of the soul; to be imprisoned according to the pleasure of the holy office, and deprived of civil rights. J. M. Abrea, soldier of the same regiment, charged with the same crimes, with maintaining that the Americans were not the sons of Adam, and other iniquitous errors, condemned to the same punishment. Five other soldiers, same regiment, condemned to the same penalty. A Frenchman, surgeon-in-chief of

same regiment, also with holding that a man ought to kill himself rather than suffer dishonour, with having opened his vein in prison with the view of putting an end to himself; condemned to imprisonment in the French convent of Barbadirhos. J. A. de Cunha, a former professor of geometry, in the University of Coimbra, of the same regiment, charged with being an *Atheist*, an indifferentist, a liberationist, a libertine, a *Deist*. He was an advocate of liberty of conscience; "he affirmed that our Lord would not punish those who from ignorance embraced a false religion." He denied predestination and the mystery of the most Holy Trinity. He reproved a state of celibacy as injurious to the state. He communicated sacrilegiously, and said it was an act of violence to compel men (to frequent the sacrament), and to fetter the understanding in matters of faith, condemned to imprisonment in the convent of the Necessidades, and degradation in Evora. Another prisoner, a student in canon law, for blasphemous discourses and acts of revolting impiety, to be whipped through the streets, and exposed with a gag in his mouth.

So far I have dealt only with those valuable official documents, certainly heretofore unpublished, for which I am indebted to the enlightened Viscount de San Bandeira.

From the reports of all the autos referred to in the places where the three inquisitions were established, it appears that this tribunal had cognizance

not only of offences against the faith but against the laws of the land, which prohibited crimes against public morality. All offences against the religion of the State, all crimes committed by its ministers, sacrilege, blasphemy, impiety, crimes against society, in violation of sacraments, or religious tenets, bigamy, perjury, all opinions deemed heretical, these were judged by the Inquisition. Who can read the record even of its convictions and executions, and not acknowledge it was a terrible institution. It was in every respect objectionable in its constitution and administration; its mode of receiving denunciations, and of acting on them, and of extorting evidence. It was objectionable, especially in taking away the ministers of a religion of mercy from their spiritual duties, and investing them with the character of jurists, judges and prosecutors.

There were some "ingenious devices" adopted at the period of the revolution in Portugal, in 1820, and the downfall of the Inquisition, with a view to the object of bringing more effectual odium on an institution already sufficiently odious.

Miguel Paulo d'Almeida, son of a Lisbon merchant living at Bonnavista, his father named Miguel Gomez d'Almeida, in 1820, then a young man, the night before the people were admitted to see the interior of the Inquisition recently abolished, at the time of the revolution, with the assistance of some other young men, carried into the Inquisition a quantity of human bones they had collected in a

churchyard, and deposited them there, to impress the people with an idea of the horrors committed by the inquisitors. He told this to Mr. Hickie, a merchant of this town, who was my informant of the facts above stated in 1845, in the presence of Rev. P. Russell and J. Savage, of the Dominican convent of Corpo Santo, in Lisbon. Almeida is now living at Rio Janeiro.*

* The Duke of Wellington, in 1812, stayed not only the total abolition of the Portuguese Inquisition, but the wholesale spoliation of the church property in Portugal, and the driving out on the world of the members of the monastic orders. "Finally," says Colonel Napier, "Mr. Vansittart, Mr. Villiers, and the Count Funchal devised, and the English Cabinet actually entertained the plan of selling the crown and church property of Portugal." "It was in the trenches of Burgos that Wellington had to exhibit the folly and impolicy of this scheme. In his memoir to Government from the trenches of Burgos, at a moment when suffering such distress, that in his own words, all former distress for money had been slight in contemplation, he pointed out the inconsistency of the course recommended with the proclaimed motives of the war on the French, namely, the defence of the religion and old institutions of the country. The best mode, says the Duke in his memoir, of obtaining for the state eventually the benefit of the church property would be to prevent the monasteries and nunneries from receiving novices, and thus in the course of time the Pope might be brought to consent to the sale of the estates, or the nation might assume possession when the ecclesiastical corporation had become extinct. He, however, thought it no disadvantage to Spain or Portugal, that large portions of land should be held by the church. The bishops and monks were the only proprietors who lived on their estates, and spent their revenues amongst the labourers by whom those revenues had been produced,

and until the habits of the new landed proprietors changed, the transfer in land from the clergy would be a misfortune."—*Napier's Peninsular War*, vol. v. p. 394.

As the sentiments of a man who had no sympathy with the institutions in question, nor for the institutions of any country, except as the interests of the service he was engaged in, and those of the Government he was employed by, were affected by them, these opinions of the Duke are worthy of notice and worthy of the man. In proof of the latter assertion respecting the Duke's philosophy of the military school of Stoicism, we have a remarkable confirmation of it in the strenuous efforts of his Grace to sustain the Inquisition in Spain in opposition to the Cortes, and the order issued by the Regency on the 7th of March, 1813, for its abolition.

CHAPTER IX.

OPINIONS OF CATHOLIC AND PROTESTANT CHURCHES ON THE SUBJECT OF SORCERY AND THE OPERATION OF EVIL SPIRITS.

THE substance of the doctrines taught by the Roman Catholic church, and the discipline explained by the doctors of it duly authorized, and in recent times too, duly accredited, on the subject of Witchcraft and Magic, given in the succeeding pages, necessarily, compendiously and summarily, is taken from a French work, entitled "Catechisme De La Foi et des Mœurs Chretiennes, par Mons. De Lastanges, Pretre de Saint-Sulpice, Premier Superieur du Seminaire du Puy."—Nouvelle edition, in 8vo. Paris, 1851, pp. 53 to 61.

As to the authority of the work, as a genuine exposition of Roman Catholic doctrine, the following extracts from Episcopal approvals of it are sufficiently explicit. The author of the work was born in 1616, and died in 1694. St. Vincent de Paul, in a few words pronounced a great eulogium on Lastanges, "Le plus parfait ecclesiastique de son siecle."

Approbations.

" Eveché du Puy, 3 Janvier, 1848.

" Le Catéchisme de la Foi et des Mœurs Chrétiennes, composé il ya près d'un siècle et demi par M. de Lastanges, prêtre de Saint-Sulpice, premier supérieur de notre Séminaire, et publié, par deux Mandements des Evêques de Clermont et du Puy, est un enseignement complet de la Religion. Toutes les questions du dogme, des sacraments et de la morale sont traitées d'apres les principes de la saine théologie, avec autant de clarté et de méthode que de science et de pieté."*

" Eveché du Mans, le 5 Fevrier, 1850.

" Je desire vivement que cet excellent ouvrage, qui renferme a la fois tant de doctrine et d'onction, dans un cadre restraint, en égard aux matières dont il traite, se répande parmi les fidèles et ceux qui doivent les insture."†

" Eveché de Rennes, le 17 Janvier, 1850.

" Nous joignons tres volontiers notre approbation à celle de nos vénérables collegues les Evéques du Puy et de Clermont."‡

Catholic doctrine touching Magic.

1. The belief and teaching of the Roman Catholic church in matters concerning evil spirits, their power, influence, and modes of operation, summarily considered, are to the following effect:—Lucifer, and

* A. C. G. Evéque du Puy. † J. B. Evéque du Mans.
‡ G. Evéque de Rennes.

that part of the heavenly choir expelled from heaven, fell into rebellion through pride, and the guilt incurred by those celestial spirits of eternal reprobation, holds them in unceasing warfare against the will and works of the Creator of the universe.

2. Spiritual pride, an inordinate sense of superior excellence, and an unmeasured self-concentrating power that exaggerates its own perfections, and eventually bewilders all intelligence, engenders hatred to God and man, and seeks compensation for diminished power in fraud, falsehood, and seduction; these became the characteristics of Satan and his angels after their fall.

3. Their punishments are the pain of privation of God's presence and grace; the pain of the torment of hell's flames; the pain of the conviction of the eternity of those punishments, and of the detestable society in which their doom is to live for ever sorrowfully.

4. Their intelligence, always active, vivid, and penetrating, is capable of discovering to them many secrets of which man is ignorant. But that intelligence is obscured, deprived as it is of the supernatural light of divine grace, and is thus degraded from its original angelic excellence.

5. The power to will or perform what is good they have not. The power to hurt mankind by suggesting evil, to make men their accomplices and companions is possessed by them, by the permission of God.

6. The power thus possessed by them is exercised

in different ways, by deceit, by seduction, by terrors, by illusions, and vexations.

7. Their malign influence by deceit and illusions is chiefly exercised on those who fall away by their vices from the fear and love of God; they cause the judgment of God and the thought of death to pass out of such men's minds; they fill the heart with new cares and sordid interests, and thus insensibly lead men to live without faith, and at variance with human as well as divine law.

8. They deceive the minds of those who make profession of piety and devotion, disguising evil under the semblance of good; making the toleration of evil appear a practice of charity and meekness, or the excesses of inordinate anger pass for the movements of a holy and discreet zeal; taking the form of angels of light to deceive simple and unwary souls by false appearances of visions, revelations, and inspirations: procuring for them extraordinary emotions of sensibility in their devotions; and during such temptations inciting them to apply themselves indiscreetly and without measure, reason, or due regard to their physical constitution, to incessant prayer and extreme austerities, to a state of spiritual excitement, followed by exhaustion of the animal spirits and bodily health, and also by counter feelings to those of fervour; distaste and aversion for religious exercises, disquietude of mind, and disturbance of conscience.

9. They tempt men by seductions and allure-

ments, when they find the heart disposed for such temptations, by inspiring sensual thoughts, and making cupidity the ruling passion of the mind.

10. They endeavour to triumph over man's faith and reason by causing extraordinary terrors; exaggerating the difficulties and dangers that beset us; magnifying impediments to virtue, and the force of circumstances opposed to repentance or conversion.

11. They bring their malign influence to bear on men's minds and dispositions by vexations of spirit and of body; operating by means of wicked suggestions, horrid phantasies, scruples of conscience, and incitements to indulgence of unbridled passions; tormenting the body from without, as in the case of Job; and from within, as in the case of possession; when they effect an entrance into the body, or agitate bodies, using their organs, causing them to act and speak as they will, and thus usurping the power of their souls.

12. Those persons who affirm they are not called on to believe in possession by evil spirits, must forget they are called on to believe in such cases recorded in the New Testament, and that there is temerity in limiting times for the possibility of their occurrence, and thus by implication calling in question usages of the Church, founded on belief in the authenticity of accounts of possession deemed by spiritual authorities well established; and that usage especially, of consecrating, annually, ministers specially appointed to exorcise demons, who may possess the bodies of

human beings; no one, however, is obliged to believe that any particular person is possessed by a devil, so long as he sees nothing in the phenomena manifested, which surpases the power of nature, or which cannot be the result of any natural cause.

13. When the proofs of possession are doubtful, the clergy are expected and obliged, after having duly investigated the case, to report the difficulties they encounter to their bishop.

14. When God permits diabolical possession to take place, it is for the purpose of chastising or proving the faith of persons who are thus afflicted, and shewing, in such cases, now of rare occurrence, if the demons have such power to torment mankind when their power is extremely limited, how much greater must the torments be which they will have the power of inflicting in hell, when those unfortunate souls will be at their mercy.

15. Those who are tormented by demons in any manner whatsoever, are under an obligation to pray fervently to the Holy Spirit to fortify and sustain them; to invoke their guardian angels to succour them; and to bear the ills they labour under in a spirit of penitence and submission to the Divine will.

16. Evil spirits act on men immediately, or mediately by their agents; by themselves as by possession, by forming in the imagination representations and phantasies of an evil nature. Causing an agitation of the blood and humours of the body, and thus exciting the passions; mediately, by the con-

formity of men's dispositions to the malign influences of demons, and the wickedness of evil councillors, and persons at enmity with God, who lead men into error by their seductions, or the terror with which they inspire them. Demons cannot act immediately on the conscience or the free will of man. God alone can do that. It is said, in the Scripture, men are tempted by God. The divine goodness tempts not men with a design to make them fall into sin; He tempts "his own" to prove their faith, and to crown their fidelity, when it has been manifested in great trials.

17. Satan is called, in the Scriptures, "the prince of this world," not because God has given him any sovereignty over it, but because men in the perversity of their hearts abandon their Creator and his law, and place themselves under the domination of the arch enemy of the human race.

18. Satan is called, in the Scriptures, "the god of this world:" because, in times antecedent to the advent of the Messiah, when idolatry prevailed throughout the world, with the exception of Judea, the devil, through the idols, and on the altars of heathen nations, received the homage of mankind; because he is still thus worshipped by a portion of the Pagan world, and by perverse men professing to be Christians, who promote his interests by the idolatry of pride manifested in strife and disobedience, or the idolatry of vice, which makes itself idols of vices and the pleasures of this world; thus

rendering men slaves of sin and servants of its author.

19. The subjects of Satan, on whom the power of his tyranny is chiefly exercised, are those who are wilfully under the empire of the Prince of darkness, who wish not to be of the true Church of Jesus Christ; those who are magicians and sorcerers, that is to say, those who profess to hold communion expressly with demons, to be given to Satan, and to have renounced Jesus Christ and baptism, to render obedience to this accursed master, and to be marked with his seal; those abandoned to vice, whom Satan holds in bondage of sin, and of those captives such as are most puffed up with pride.

Perhaps it may be objected to the preceding statements of Roman Catholic doctrine on the subjects of Sorcery and the operation of Evil Spirits, the work from which they are taken is intended only for the laity. I now lay before my readers a summary of the doctrine on the same subjects, especially laid down for the instruction and guidance of ecclesiastics, from a work of authority, entitled "De Instructione Sacerdotum," &c., Lib. viii., Francisci Toletus (Soc. Jes.), Rothom., 1630, Lib. iv. cap. 14.

Magic may be described as an inordinate power of doing preternatural things. The effects are produced by the aid of demons. Magic is distinguished from the other kinds of superstition by its object, which is to display the extraordinary power of the magician.

In reality there is no power existing in the magician, for the effects are produced by the devil at the command of the magician.

Magic cannot compel the demons to act, for it has in reality no power over them, though they feign to be coerced in order to deceive the more. It is true that on occasions the inferior spirits may be compelled to act at the command of the magician, by the demons of a higher order. The mode of their action is threefold. In the first place, they produce effects by transferring bodies with great rapidity from one place to another. For the demons have power over all inferior things, natural or artificial, in this respect; and, moreover, they are endowed with wonderful agility, which enables them to pass in an instant from one place to another, however remote.

Secondly, demons produce effects by the occult application of natural causes, and by accelerating their action: for their knowledge is incredible. They understand the nature and properties of every thing in the mineral, vegetable, and animal worlds; and they know where everything is. Hence they sometimes produce trees, fruits, animals, in an incredibly short space of time, by the application of the seeds and the other causes.

They often effect cures by the occult use of medicines, or by entering the body and expelling evil humours.

Thirdly, they perform prodigies by acting on the senses. This happens in two ways; sometimes

they produce objects made of condensed air, and moved by them. Thus they make serpents, dragons, and many kinds of animals appear; at other times they impede the action of the senses, and excite the imagination until impressions are so vivid, that they seem to be caused by the objects that naturally produce them.

It is in one or more of these ways the demon acts at the word or request of the magician.

There is almost always a compact with the demon, though, on rare occasions, he works on being tacitly invoked.

The compact between the demon and magician is based upon engagements mutually entered into. The man promises to obey the demon, to disobey God, to deny his attributes, his sacraments, &c.; and the demon, on his part, promises to work for him and at his bidding. This compact is entered into either with the demon himself appearing, or through the intervention of some man devoted to magic.

The compact with the demon is sometimes concluded with great solemnity. For example, when the demon appears seated on a throne, and surrounded by a host of evil spirits, as attendants and witnesses of the contract.

The tacit invocation of the demon takes place, when a man makes use of the same means as magicians to effect his purpose, though there is no express contract. Generally there is formed a tacit

invocation of the demon, when a person endeavours to accomplish a work by means which have no natural or supernatural adaptation for the desired end.

For example, the use of words without meaning, figures curved or angular, false or fictitious statements, such as that Christ had diseases, or other such falsehoods, attaching importance to circumstances that cannot possibly have influence on the effect that is looked for, such as the colour of the paper on which passages of Scripture should be written, or the particular day and hour for procuring herbs; all these are tacit invocations of the demon.

Magicians often unite heresy to their art, and thus are excommunicated, as are *all* who consult them, or seek their assistance.

There are two kinds of divination. The demon is invoked in both, expressly and tacitly, to declare things naturally concealed from man. Such express invocation of the demon occurs in a variety of ways, and gives to divination a variety of names. The demon knows much *naturally* that men do not. His long experience renders him service in conjecture. He may derive some knowledge from the good angels.

He sees causes that naturally and necessarily must produce in the course of time effects. For instance, the death of a person attacked by disease, naturally fatal, yet not known to many as such, can

be predicted. Hence he can deceive the diviners and those who consult them. Sorcerers, like wine, work by the aid of the evil spirit.

Sorcerers injure by their art, sometimes persons, sometimes property. Demons have no power over either person or property, except by God's permission. They cannot coerce the will of any; but they may, by suggestion, allurements, &c. induce persons to follow a certain course. In every instance it is the demon that works, causing sickness, and destroying houses and crops, and even though the sorcerers imagine they themselves are the agents.†

In a provincial Council, more ancient than the Nicene council, called "The Council of Ancyra," there are some very remarkable passages in a decree on the subject of Sorcery and Satanic influence, of very great interest. There is a difference of opinion among ecclesiastical writers as to the place where the Council was held, but none of weight as to the genuineness of the acts of it. Baronius believes this Council was held in Rome, under Pope Damascus, in the time of St. Jerome. Del Rio, the learned Jesuit, believes it to have been held in Ancyra, the metropolis of Galatea, according to the declaration of those who collected the ancient canons. Alciatus, in his "Parerga," refutes some interpreters of the decrees of this Council, who had disparaged its authority: "Nec cœlum, nec terram attingunt."

* Toletus, lib. iv. cap. 14, p. 7. † Ib. lib. iv. cap. 16.

The following are the passages in the decree above referred to.

"Illud etiam non est omittendum, quod quodam sceleratæ mulieres retro post Satanam conversæ, dæmonum illusionibus et phantasmatibus seductæ, credunt et profitentur; se nocturnis horis, cum Dianâ Paganorum Deâ, vel cum Herodiade, et innumerâ multitudine mulierum, equitare super quasdam bestias, et multa terrarum spatia intempestæ noctis spatio pertransire, ejusque jussionibus velut Dominæ obedire, et certis noctibus ad ejus servitium evocari: Sed utinam hæ solæ in sua perfidia periissent, et non multos secum in infidelitatis interitum pertraxissent: Nam innumera multitudo hac falsa opinione decepta, hæc falsa opinione decepta, hæc vera esse credit, et credendo a rectâ fide deviat, et in errore Paganorum revolvitur, cum aliquid divinitatis aut numinis extra unum Deum arbitratur. Quapropter sacerdotes per ecclesias sibi commissas, populo omni instantiâ prædicare debent, ut noverint hæc omnimodis esse falsa, et non a divino sed a maligno spiritu talia phantasmata, mentibus fidelium irrogari. Siquidem ipse Satanus qui transfigurat se in angelum lucis, cum mentem cujusque mulierculæ cæperit, et hanc sibi per infidelitatem subjugaverit, illico transformat se in diversarum personarum species atque similitudines, et mentem quam captivam tenet in somnis deludens, modo læta, modo tristia, modo cognitas, modo incognitas personas ostendens, per devia quaque deducit. Et cum solus spiritus hoc

partitur, infidelis mens hoc non in animo, sed incorpore opinatur evenire. Quis enim non in somnis et nocturnis visionibus extra se educitur, et multa videt dormiendo, quæ nunquam viderat vigilando. Quis vero tam stultus et hebes est, qui hæc omnia quæ in solo spiritu fiunt, etiam in corpore accidere arbitretur; cum Ezechiel propheta visiones Domini in spiritu, non in corpore, vidit? Et Johannes Apostolus Apocalypsis, sacramentum in spiritu, non in corpore, vidit, et audivit, sicut ipse dicit, statim inquit fui in spiritu. Et Paulus non audet dicere se raptum in corpore. Omnibus itaque publicè annunciandum est quod qui talia et his similia credit, fidem perdit; et qui fidem rectam in Domino non habet, hic non est ejus, sed illius in quem credit, id est, diaboli. Nam de Domino nostro scriptum est, omnia per ipsum facta sunt. Quisquis ergo credit posse fieri aliquam creaturam, aut in melius, aut in deterius immutari, aut transformari in aliam speciem vel similitudinem, nisi ab ipso Creatore qui omnia fecit, et per quem omnia facta sunt, procul dubio infidelis est et pagans inferior."

"Now this decree of the Ancyran Council," says a learned writer, "was the more seasonable, in regard that, a little before, Manes, or Manichæus, had spread abroad in the Christian world, that old heathenish doctrine of the two principles, one of good and the other of evil; and it is remarkable, that witches and Manichæans are coupled together by the Emperors Dioclesian and Maximian, in their rescript to Julian,

the proconsul of Africa, *de Maleficis et Manichæis*, as it is cited out of the Gregorian code by Ruffinus, in his Collation of the Jewish with the Roman laws. About a hundred years after, and somewhat more, Priscillian and his followers did, in a great measure, embrace the doctrine of Manes; insomuch, that in the year 563, there was a Council held at Bracara, a town of Gallicia, in Spain, against the Priscillianists. In the decrees of this Council, Manes and Priscillian are frequently joined together for their foolish conceits concerning the power of the devil or evil principle; but especially they have one decree, very considerable to our present purpose, wherein they anathematize all those who believe that the devil can make any creature, or so much as raise storms and tempests by his own authority or power; the words are these, *Si quis credit, quod aliquantas in mundo creaturas diabolus faceris, et tonitrua, et fulgura, et tempestates, et siccites, ipse diabolus sua autoritate faciat, sicut Priscillianus dixit, anathema sit.* Wherefore, if the devil cannot raise thunder and lightning and tempests by his own power, he did no more in the case of Job, than Elijah, or any mortal man may do, when he receives a commission from God."*

The learned Benedictine, Pere Augustine Calmet, whose commentary on the Scriptures is of European celebrity, published a remarkable work on spirits, entitled—"Dissertations sur Apparitions des Anges,

* The Question of Witchcraft debated, pp. 52, &c.

des Demons, et des Esprits : et sur les Revenans et Vampires." In 12mo. Paris, 1746.

The main design of this work is to shew, that the Scriptures abound in evidence of apparitions of good and evil spirits, and that their existence cannot be denied without rejecting the authority of the sacred Scriptures, which records those apparitions. "The reality of them is a matter of fact, which must be received," says Calmet; "the mode of their appearance, is a question which it is permitted to reason on—whether those apparitions were real or imaginary." The subject is so important, and the dissertation on it at once so comprehensive and succinct, that I am induced to lay it before my readers without any curtailment—and that portion of it, which is particularly deserving of attention—in the original French :—"On ne peut donc nier les Apparitions des Anges et des demons sans renverser toutes les Ecritures qui les rapportent et les supposent. Mais il est permis de raisonner sur la maniere dont se sont faites ses apparitions. Etoient illes reelles on imaginaires? Les anges avoient-ils de veritables corps palpables et materiels ou des corps subtiles, aeriens en forme de vapeurs epaisses, qui les faisoient paroitre aux sens commes personnes vivantes, parlant marchant, mangeant, agissant comme composès de corps animès; ou etoient—que de simples phantomes, qui imposent aux sens et aux yeux des hommes? ou etoit—ce une espèce de fascination et illusion faite aux yeux et aux sens de spectateurs, qui croyoient voir, entendre, toucher, ce qui n'etoit

rien au dehors et ne subsistoit, que dans leur imagination trompèe, comme il arrive dans le sommeil, ou meme dans la veille, quand l'ignorance de la physique nous fait prendre pour rèel, ce qui n'est que apparent, comme quand on plonge une batòn dans l'eau et qu'il paroit courbè ou rompu, quoiqu'il n'y ait aucun changement dans le baton mais seulement dans les rayons visuels, et dans l'impression qu'ils font sur les yeux; ou ce qui se passe dans l'idee des hypochondriaques, qui se figurent etre de terre, de neige, de glace; ou etre rois, papes, cardinaux ou loups, chats ou chiens et qui partent et agissent en consequence."

Calmet, in continuation, says, "I cannot better answer these questions, nor resolve these doubts, than by the following words of St. Augustine: 'Who can explain with what bodies angels have appeared to men, so that they were not only seen, but touched . . . how they appeared in dreams, and have spoken as those speak whom one sees in dreams; for the holy angels had thus manifested themselves, although they have not palpable bodies; on which matter a question arises very difficult to resolve: to understand for instance, how the Patriarch washes their feet; how Jacob conld wrestle with an angel clothed with a palpable body. When questions are raised on all those matters, and each person proposes his conjectures, those researches serve to exercise the mind usefully, provided one remains within the limits of legitimate inquiry, and does not *flatter* himself in

vain, imagining that he knows that which he does not know. For, what necessity is there, in fine, to affirm, or to deny, or to define things of this sort, which cannot be affirmed without danger, and which can be ignored without sin, and without any inconvenience.' "* [So far for St. Augustine.]

"One must then," observes Calmet, "without denying that which is certain, rest in silence and avow one's ignorance as to the way in which apparitions take place. It will be said to me—this is not resolving the difficulty, nor untying the knot which has caused embarrassment. I avow it: but God has not permitted that we should know more on this subject. Whoever seeks to penetrate too far into the depths of the majesty and greatness of His works, will be oppressed with the dazzling brightness of them, 'Qui scrutator est majestatis, opprimetur à gloria.'" Prov. xxv. 27.†

The Protestant doctrine and belief concerning sorcery and witchcraft, is to be found thus compendiously explained in a work of generally received authority, "A Practical Catechism, by H. Hammond, D.D.:" [15th edit., London, 1715, pp. 322 to 625.]

The meaning of the promise made by the sponsors of the baptized to "renounce the devil and all his works and pomps."

* August. Enchiridion, cap. 59.

† Calmet, "Dissertations sur les Apparitions," &c. ch. iv. page 11 to 14.

"Certainly the principal thing here renounced is the false gods, *id est*, devils which the heathen world did worship so universally before Christ's time, and against which the catechists (who prepared all for baptism) did first labour to fortify their disciples, and are for that cause called in the ancient church, and known by the title of Exorcists, as those that cast out those devils."

"But then, secondly, as he that acknowledges the true God with his tongue, doth oft deny him in his life; so they that renounce these fallen gods or devils, that pray not to them, nor believe them to be gods, may yet acknowledge them in their actions, *i.e.*, may be supposed (as men are oft found) to live like those idolatrous heathens in the midst of Christianity. And, therefore, after this sense of renouncing the devil, as that signifies forsaking all idolatrous worship, you must further add the renouncing all commerce or consulting with him; the former being that which witches and sorcerers use, the latter, that which they are guilty of which repair to such witches, or receive responses from them, or directions for health or thriving, or acquiring any advantages in the world; or if it be but by way of curiosity to know (by any such black art) any future events, or the like, and all other things wherein the devil's help is called in, through not depending totally upon God: which, as you meet with them, you will understand, by the proportion or

analogy which they hold with those which I have now named to you."*

The catechist proceeds to explain the meaning of the secondary sense in which all such sins as have a special character of Satan in them—pride, ambition, deadly mischief, and malignant evil to life or fame of others, slandering, corrupting, or terrifying them to unlawful acts and other sins, carrying much of Satan's image in them, and deserving to be called his works.

"Whensoever it is sure that the devil tempts any man to any sin, if he yield to it, that is very properly a work of the devil. But it is hard to discern that, or when, or where the devil doth thus immediately tempt any, and it is ordinary to accuse the devil of that which comes from our own evil inclinations and customs, &c. . . . . I say, for these and other considerations I did not think fit to name these in the front of the works of the devil, being not sure they all belong to that rank of sins as here they are set down by way of difference from the 'pomps of the world, and the deserts of the flesh.' Yet shall I not on this occasion neglect to mind you how nearly you are concerned to watch the devil, that evil spirit, that he do not secretly inspire or infuse any evil thoughts into you; and the rather, because what he doth so, he takes all care that those suggestions may seem not to come from

* A Practical Catechism, by H. Hammond, D.D., lib. vi. p. 322. London, 1715.

him, (knowing that any Christian must needs be averse from hearkening to them then,) but he labours to appear an angel of light, a good spirit, the very Spirit of God, and often brings it so about, that in his inward whisperings having some specious disguise of religion, or zeal for God put upon them, are taken for the voice of God's Spirit within men; and among those that pretend to enthusiasms, and that they are taught by the Spirit those things which the Word of God (the sure inspired voice of God's Spirit) doth not teach them (nay, which in the conceit and opinion of some of them are to be believed, though they seem contrary to that), it will be no wonder if Satan do so prevail as to obtrude his temptations under the disguise of dictates of God's Spirit; and that may be a reason that St. Paul conjures the Galatians, that they anathematize whosoever (though a seeming angel from heaven) that teaches any other doctrine for the doctrine of God, *save that which was then already received by them;* intimating that seeming good angel, to be indeed a diabolical accursed spirit, that so teacheth: and St. John, 1. Ep. iv., advises us, likewise *to try the spirits, whether they be of God or no;* signifying (as many false teachers acted by evil spirits,) so surely many evil spirits also, do put on the outward appearance of godlike spirits, so that they, if we beware not, may be by us mistaken for the Spirit of God."*

* A Practical Catechism, by H. Hammond, D.D., lib. vi. p. 325. London, 1715.

Luther's opinions and observations on the subject of the agency and operations of evil spirits may be gathered from his "Colloquia Mensalia." The passages I cite from those "Familiar Discourses," are taken from "The Table Talk," edited and translated by W. Hazlitt, Esq. Bogue, London, 1848.

"OF THE DEVIL AND HIS WORKS.

"DLXXIV.

"The greatest punishment God can inflict on the wicked, is when the church, to chastise them, delivers them over to Satan, who, with God's permission, kills them, or makes them undergo great calamities. Many devils are in woods, in waters, in wildernesses, and in dark pooly places, ready to hurt and prejudice people; some are also in the thick black clouds, which cause hail, lightnings, and thunderings, and poison the air, the pastures and grounds. When these things happen, then the philosophers and physicians say, it is natural, ascribing it to the planets, and shewing I know not what reasons for such misfortunes and plagues as ensue.

"DLXXVI.

"Dr. Luther was asked, whether the Samuel who appeared to king Saul, upon the invocation of the pythoness, as is related in the first Book of Kings, was really the prophet Samuel. The doctor answered: 'No, 'twas a spectre, an evil spirit, assum-

ing his form. What proves this is, that God, by the laws of Moses, had forbidden man to question the dead; consequently, it must have been a demon which presented itself under the form of the man of God. In like manner, an abbot of Spanheim, a sorcerer, exhibited to the emperor Maximilian all the emperors his predecessors, and all the most celebrated heroes of past times, who defiled before him each in the costume of his time. Among them were Alexander the Great and Julius Cæsar. There was also the emperor's betrothed, whom Charles of France stole from him. But these apparitions were all the work of the demon.

"DLXXXI.

"August 25, 1538, the conversation fell upon witches who spoil milk, eggs, and butter in farm-yards. Dr. Luther said, 'I should have no compassion on these witches; I would burn all of them. We read in the old law, that the priests threw the first stone at such malefactors. 'Tis said this stolen butter turns rancid, and falls to the ground when any one goes to eat it. He who attempts to counteract and chastise these witches, is himself corporeally plagued and tormented by their master, the devil. Sundry schoolmasters and ministers have often experienced this. Our ordinary sins offend and anger God. What, then, must be his wrath against witchcraft, which we may justly designate high treason against divine majesty, a revolt against

the power of God. The jurisconsults who have so learnedly treated of rebellion, affirm that the subject who rebels against his sovereign, is worthy of death. Does not witchcraft, then, merit death, which is a revolt of the creature against the Creator, a denial to God of the authority it accords to the demon?'

"DLXXXII.

"Dr. Luther discoursed at length concerning witchcraft and charms. He said, that his mother had to undergo infinite annoyance from one of her neighbours, who was a witch, and whom she was fain to conciliate with all sorts of attentions; for this witch could throw a charm upon children, which made them cry themselves to death. A pastor having punished her for some knavery, she cast a spell upon him by means of some earth upon which he had walked, and which she bewitched. The poor man hereupon fell sick of a malady which no remedy could remove, and shortly after died.

"DLXXXIII.

"It was asked: Can good Christians and God-fearing people also undergo witchcraft? Luther replied: Yes; for our bodies are always exposed to the attacks of Satan. The maladies I suffer are not natural, but devil's spells,

"DLXXXVII.

"The devil seduces us at first by all the allurements of sin, in order thereafter to plunge us into despair: he pampers up the flesh, that he may, by and bye,

prostrate the spirit. We feel no pain in the act of sin, but the soul after it is sad, and the conscience disturbed.

"DXCIV.

"The devil knows the thoughts of the ungodly, for he inspires them therewith. He sees and rules the hearts of all such people as are not kept safe and preserved by God's Word; yea holds them captive in his snares, so that they must think, do, and speak according to his will. And St. Paul says: 'The god of this world blindeth the minds of them that believe not, lest the light of the glorious gospel of Christ, who is the image of God, should shine unto them,' &c. And Christ gives a reason how it comes to pass, that many hear the Word, yet neither understand nor keep the same, where he says: 'The devil cometh, and taketh the Word out of their hearts, lest they should believe and be saved.' Therefore it is no marvel that the devil, through his prophets, declares what shall happen and come to pass.

"DXCV.

"The Scripture clearly shews that the devil gives unto mankind evil thoughts, and suggests evil projects to the ungodly; as of Judas is written that the devil put it into his heart to betray Christ. And he not only instigated Cain to hate his brother Abel, but, moreover, to murder him. But the devil knows not the thoughts of the righteous, until they utter

them. He knew not the thoughts of Christ's heart, nor knows he the thoughts of the godly, in whose heart Christ dwells. 'Tis a powerful, crafty, and subtle spirit. Christ names him the Prince of the World; he goes about shooting all thoughts, his fiery darts, into the hearts, even of the godly, as discord, hatred to God, despair, blaspheming, &c. St. Paul well understood all these assaults, and bitterly complains of them.

"DXCVI.

"The apostle gives this title to the devil: 'That he hath the power of death.' And Christ calls him a murderer. He is so skilled, that he is able to cause death even with the leaf of a tree; he has more boxes and pots full of poison, wherewith he destroys men, than all the apothecaries in the world have of healing medicine; if one poison will not dispatch, another will. In a word, the power of the devil is greater than we can imagine; 'tis only God's finger can resist him.

"DCIV.

"In cases of melancholy and sickness, I conclude it is merely the work of the devil. For God makes us not melancholy, nor affrights nor kills us, for he is a God of the living. Hence the Scripture: 'Rejoice, and be of good comfort.' God's Word and prayer is physic against spiritual tribulations.

"DCVII.

"I hold that a devil, once overcome with God's

Word and Spirit, must be gone, and dare not return again with the same temptation; Christ says: 'Avoid, Satan.' And in another place: 'Come out, thou unclean spirit.' Then say the devils: 'Suffer us to enter into the herd of swine.' Origen says: 'I believe that the saints strangle and slay many devils in combating'—that is, break their power.

"DCVIII.

"Witchcraft is the devil's own proper work, wherewith, when God permits, he not only hurts people, but often makes away with them; for in this world we are as guests and strangers, body and soul cast under the devil; he is god of this world, and all things are under his power, whereby we are preserved in temporal life,—as meat, drink, air, &c.

"The devil is so crafty a spirit, that he can ape and deceive our senses. He can cause one to think he sees something, which he sees not, and he hears thunder, or a trumpet, which he hears not.

"DCXIII.

"The devil has two occupations, to which he applies himself incessantly, and which are the foundation stones of his kingdom—lying and murder. God says: 'Thou shalt have none other gods but me.' Against these two commandments, the devil, with all his force, fights without intermission.

He now plays no more with people, as heretofore, by means of rumbling spirits, for he sees that the

condition of the time is far otherwise than what it was twenty years past. He now begins at the right end, and uses great diligence. The rumbling spirits are mute among us; but the spirits of sedition increase above measure, and get the upper hand: God resist them.

"DCXIV.

"The power the devil exercises is not by God commanded, but God resists him not, suffering him to make tumults, yet no longer or further than he wills, for God has set him a mark, beyond which he neither can nor dare step.

"When God said, concerning Job, to Satan: "Behold, he is in thy hands, yet spare his life," this power was by God permitted, as if God should say: I will so far permit and give thee leave, but touch not his life.

"DCXX.

"God gives to the devil and to witches power over human creatures in two ways; first, over the ungodly, when he will punish them by reason of their sins; secondly, over the just and godly, when he intends to try whether they will be constant in the faith, and remain in his obedience. Without God's will and our own consent, the devil cannot hurt us; for God says: 'Whoso touches you, toucheth the apple of mine eye.' And Christ: 'There cannot fall an hair from your head, without your heavenly Father's notice.'

"DCXXX.

"Men are possessed by the devil two ways; corporally and spiritually. Those whom he possesses corporally, as mad people, he has permission from God to vex and agitate, but he has no power over their souls. The impious, who persecute the divine doctrine, and treat the truth as a lie, and who, unhappily, are very numerous in our time, these the devil possesses spiritually. They cannot be delivered, but remain, horrible to relate, his prisoners, as in the time of Jesus Christ, were Annas, Caiaphas, and all the other impious Jews whom Jesus himself could not deliver, and as now-a-days, are the pope, his cardinals, bishops, tyrants, and partisans."

In the Letters on "Demonology and Witchcraft," by Sir Walter Scott, addressed to J. G. Lockhart, Esq. [2nd ed. 12mo. 1831] reference is made at pages 51 and 54, to the following two passages in the Old Testament, in connection with the subject of witchcraft and sorcery; the first,—"Men shall not suffer a witch to live," Exodus, ii. 22: the second,—"There shall not be found among you any one that maketh his son or daughter to pass through the fire, or that useth divination, or an observer of times, or an enchanter, or a witch, or a charmer, or a consulter with familiar spirits, or a necromancer," Deuteronomy, xvii. 10, 11.

With respect to the first passage, Scott says, "Many learned men have affirmed, that in this remarkable

passage the Hebrew word *Chasaph* means nothing more than poisoner, like the word *veneficus*, by which it is rendered in the Latin version of the Septuagint; other learned men contend, that it hath the meaning of a witch also, and may be understood by denoting a person who pretended to hurt his or her neighbour in life, limb, or goods, either by noxious potions, by charms or similar mystical means."* "But supposing," he observes, "that the Hebrew witch proceeded only by charms, invocations, or such means as might be innoxious, save for the assistance of demons or familiars, the connection between the conjurer and the demon must have been of a very different character under the law of Moses, from that which was conceived in latter days to constitute witchcraft. There was no contract of subjection to a diabolic influence, no infernal stamp or sign of such a fatal league, no revellings of Satan and his hags, and no infliction of disease or misfortune on good men. At least there is not a word in Scripture to authorise us to believe that such a system existed."†

With respect to the passage from Deuteronomy, and passages to a like effect, in Leviticus, xix. and xx. and 2 Chronicles, xxviii.; Sir Walter Scott observes,—"Those passages seem to concur with the former, in classing witchcraft among other desertions of the prophets, of the Deity, in order to obtain responses by the superstitious practices of the pagan nations around them. To understand

* Letters on Demonology, &c. p. 51. † Ib. p. 52.

the texts otherwise seems to confound the modern system of witchcraft, with all its unnatural and improbable outrages on common sense, with the crime of the person who in classical days consulted the Oracle of Apollo—a capital offence in a few, but surely a venial sin in an ignorant and deluded Pagan."*

Sir Walter, in a note subjoined to a preceding passage, refers to some observations on the text, with which he had been favoured, which are inserted at the end of his volume.

In those observations it will be found, the writer plainly affirms what Sir Walter Scott left unsaid, but meant to be believed, namely, that the terms made use of in the two passages from the Old Testament cited by him, are misinterpretations in the English version. The writer of the observations in the note says—"The versions of them in the English Bible are exceedingly loose and indefinite, and a stricter interpretation will be found to add great strength to the position laid down by Sir Walter Scott, and which no doubt contains the true exposition of the nature of the guilt, which attached to the exercisers of these arts among the Jews."†

The writer gives the various terms in the English version which he considers misinterpreted, and the number in the two passages cited is no less than six.

* Letters on Demonology, p. 54.

† Note on a passage in Sir W. Scott's Demonology, p. 391.

This is a matter of no small importance, and deserves more attention than a matter treated as it were casually in a popular work might seem to require.

It will be observed, that Sir Walter Scott alluding to the alleged misinterpretation, says, many learned men have affirmed, "so and so," but he refers to no particular authority. The writer of the note refers for his authority on the same subject to Parkhurst's Lexicon.

It will be found, however, that the original source of the opinion adopted by Sir Walter Scott, and extended and explained by the annotator, is an English treatise, entitled "The Question of Witchcraft Debated;" wherein this view of the alleged misinterpretation of the terms by which the various forms of Jewish sorcery were expressed, was for the first time set forth *in extenso* in an English publication. Learned men had previously referred incidentally in their works to those terms and objected to their indefinitiveness, but in the treatise above referred to the views of several writers, which may have been separately insinuated, are put before the English public, combined in a distinct form and advanced with no less ability than boldness, perhaps temerity might be a better word.

As an argument, forcibly and frankly stated, of a Protestant writer of ability, representing opinions on this subject of eminent literary men of his Church, adopted by such men too as Sir Walter Scott, and

as the treatise in which it is set forth is one rarely met with, I have thought it would be desirable to place it before my readers.

"*The Question of Witchcraft Debated, or a Discourse against their opinion that affirm Witchcraft. By J. W.* 1669, in 12mo."

"That absolute and unlimited power, with which the Eastern nations were always governed, did require not only the force of arms, but the craft also and tricks of superstition to uphold it; nor indeed were standing armies of greater use unto the oriental monarchs for keeping of their people in awe, than idols were and priests, and the various impostures used by them. So various, that to enumerate every particular way of delusion insisted on by the heathen priests of old, is a very difficult task to perform. Wherefore in regard it belongs unto my present purpose and design, to treat of them only so far as they comprehend all that notion of a witch, which may be found in Scripture; I shall in order thereunto, reduce them unto these four general heads, of *Juggling, Enchanting, Conjecturing, Divining.*

"*Jugglers* were such as performed strange things in the sight of the common people, to their admiration and astonishment. This they did, either by legerdemain, that is, slight of hand, or else by magic, that is, skill in Natural Philosophy; or lastly by a familiar, that is, a confederated person privy to the plot, and assistant to the performance.

"*Enchanters* were such as with charms or certain composures and set forms of words, did pretend by virtue thereof, to bless and to curse, to do good and to do hurt unto the parties for whom those charms were made. Now these two sorts of impostors may not unaptly be called, the counterfeit miracle-mongers of the heathens, as the other two that follow may justly be called their false prophets.

"*Conjecturers*, in their guessing at the event of future things, made use of rules, drawn from their own or other men's observations, about the stars, about the fowls of the air, about the entrails of sacrificed beasts, and about many other things needless here to be reckoned up.

"*Diviners*, whom I here call so by way of eminence, and of distinction from conjecturers (not ignorant that divining taken in a general sense, doth comprehend conjecturing also; I say Diviners) pretended to a higher and more infallible kind of prophecy, receiving forsooth their revelations from some divinity or other; either from a God, or from a demon, or from the spirit of a man departed.

"Thus did the heathen priests, with subtile and sly inventions, magnify the power of their idol gods, and seduce the foolish people to idolatry. Wherefore these impostures were so hateful in the sight of God, that the Israelites are often in the Mosaical law forewarned from them, as being those very abominations, for which the Lord did cast their enemies out of that land which they were to inherit.

But above all places, the eighteenth chapter of Deuteronomy is most remarkable, I mean the ninth, tenth, eleventh, and twelfth verse of that chapter, which in our English translation runs thus.

"'When thou art come into the land which the Lord thy God giveth thee, thou shalt not learn to do after the abominations of those nations.

"'There shall not be found among you any one that maketh his son or his daughter to pass through the fire, or that useth divinations, or an observer of times, or an enchanter, or a witch.

"'Or a charmer, or a consulter with familiar spirits, or a wizard, or a necromancer.

"'For all that do these things are an abomination unto the Lord; and because of these abominations, the Lord thy God shall drive them out from before thee.'

"Now this place in Deuteronomy, is therefore highly to be considered as to my present purpose in regard there is not a word in the Bible importing Witchcraft, in any other sense than the words of the tenth and eleventh verses do. Wherefore if we consider things right, Witchcraft is not to be found in Scripture, this being the true translation of those two verses.

"'Let there not be found among you any one that maketh his son or his daughter pass through the fire, or that useth divinations, or a star-gazer, or a conjecturer, or a miracle-monger.

"'Or an enchanter, or a seeker of an oracle, or a wizard, or a necromancer.'

"Here are to be seen three notorious mistakes of our English translators. The first is their calling a conjecturer an enchanter, which why they should I cannot at all imagine, there being not the least hint of such a signification in the Hebrew word מנחשׁ Far better was it rendered in the old translation, 'a regarder of the flying of fowls,' for that is truth, although it be not all the truth: the flight of fowls being but one way of many, which conjecturers made use of. Whereas on the contrary to call a conjecturer an enchanter, hath not the least spark of truth in it: an enchanter being the same with a charmer, which follows in the next verse, and is in the Hebrew חבר a word derived from חבר to speak, pronounce or declare; and not from the same word, as it signifies to join to, or be in league with; from whence some fondly imagine, that an enchanter is one who hath a league with the devil.

"The second mistake of our translators is, their calling a miracle-monger a witch. The Hebrew word is מכשף, which the Septuagint renders by the Greek word φάρμακος, meaning an impostor, not a poisoner: for it is ridiculous to think, that Pharaoh's magicians, Jezebel the Queen, and King Manasses, did exercise the art of poisoning. Thus in the eighteenth chapter of the Revelations and the twenty-third verse, the word φάρμακεια is neither taken for witchcraft, nor poisons, but for impostures: though our translators have rendered it witchcraft. Now the miracle-mongers, or jug-

gling workers of counterfeit miracles are therefore so severely prohibited in that Law of Moses, because they acted strange things in the sight of the people to confirm them in false religions.

"In the case of Samuel raised by the witch of Endor, Scripture speaks according to the deceived apprehensions of Saul and his followers: for neither that woman, nor all the devils in hell could raise Samuel, who had been dead and buried almost two years. As for those who fancy that God did then raise Samuel; it is a very likely thing indeed, that God should refuse to answer Saul, when he consulted him in ways appointed by himself, and yet should answer him when he consulted in a forbidden way. Besides, if Samuel had been raised by God, no doubt he would never have said unto Saul, Why hast thou disquieted me? for it would have been no disquiet nor trouble unto him, to come upon God's errand. Some there are who will needs have it to be the devil in the likeness of Samuel, because Saul's death was foretold. To this I answer, that it was the woman herself, or a person confederated with her, who spoke it at a venture, knowing that Saul was going to fight: but as for the certainty of his death, it could not have been foretold by the devil himself.

"The third error of our translators is, their mistaking a consulter with oracles or false prophets, for a consulter with familiar spirits. The Hebrew words are אוֹב שׁאל, which word *ob* signifies in Scrip-

ture, sometimes the gift of oracling, and sometimes the person that hath such a gift. It signifies also a bottle, or hollow vessel, and from this signification, I suppose the other came. For it is certain that oraclers, when they pronounced their oracles, did use to counterfeit strange kinds of voices, that they might seem not to be human. To this purpose it is not unlikely, that they made use of a bottle, or trunk, or some other hollow vessel, which they spoke through, whereby their voices must needs be very much altered, especially if they were in a cave or room under ground, when they made answer to enquiries. These kind of cheating tricks are plainly alluded unto by the prophet Isaiah in these words; 'And thy voice shall be as of an oracler out of the earth, and thy speech shall peep out of the dust.' Here I suppose, the prophet chiefly alludes unto the necromantic oracler, or one that pretended to consult with the dead: who himself or confederate, did therefore counterfeit a voice like the piping of a chicken, that it might the more plausibly seem to be the small voice of a poor departed ghost. This will appear more plainly, if we consider the nineteenth verse of the eighth chapter of Isaiah, according to the translation of Junius and Tremelius, our own being hardly sense: the words are these, 'For when they say unto you, ask counsel of oraclers and soothsayers, who peep and mutter; Should not a people ask counsel of their God? should they ask counsel of the dead for the living?" Now as the oraclers,

when they pretended to receive answers from the dead would pipe like chickens; so when they delivered the mind of a god, or a demon, they counterfeited other-guise tones. In which way of counterfeiting, some were such excellent artists that they stood in need of no instrument to help them; in regard they could speak with their mouths shut, and their voice would seem to come out of their bellies, as if they had been really possessed with a talking devil: hence they were called Engastrimuthians by the Greeks, as also they were called Eurycleans, from one Eurycles a famous impostor of this kind. And as Plutarch testifies, these Engastrimuthians or Eurycleans, were anciently called Pythons: Now Πυθῶν and Πνεῦμα Πύθονος in Greek doth exactly render the Hebrew *ob*. Thus if we take *ob* for an oracler, and the spirit of oracling, we may very commodiously, with Junius and Tremelius, translate that passage in the Chronicles, concerning Manasses, where it is said of him, אוֹב עָשָׂה, he made or set up an oracle, that is, he ordained or appointed oraclers. For the word *gnashah* signifies to make or finish. Wherefore because it would be ridiculous to say, that Manasses made familar spirits, our translators have altered the true signification of *gnashah*, and translate it, though erroneously, as if it signified to deal with, affirming that Manasses dealt with familar spirits. But whosoever seriously views and considers that place, he shall find it a mere description of idolatry, where there is mention of high

places and groves, and of altars, dedicated not only to Baal, but unto the whole host of Heaven, as also of the setting up a carved idol in the very house of God. Wherefore it was suitable to mention also that crew of men who were set apart by Manasses, to officiate in this idolatrous worship; such as were various sorts of oraclers, and miracle-mongers. But how witches should come in here I cannot tell, no nor how devils neither, unless you believe that devils made answer at the heathen oracles. Which if you do, for my part I must crave leave to dissent, judging them to be nothing but the impostures of men. And as Demosthenes did wisely observe in his days, that the Delphian oracle did φιλιππίζειν, so I am confident if history be true, that the Hammonean did Ἀλεξανδρίζειν, and that all the rest of the cheating pack did one way or other Ἀνθρωπίζειν."*

The different kinds of Pagan sorcery prevalent in the times of Justin Martyr, are referred to in his great work, "Apol. lib. i. sect. 24;" and in their several ages, frequently in Tertullian's "Apology," in one of the "Dissertations of Maximus of Tyre" (22), and over and over in the writings of St. Jerome. Surely those persons who lived so near the times of the Apostles, and must have been so conversant with the sacred Scriptures, and with the opinions of the Jews on the subject, the belief in magic and the practices of sorcery, may be

* The Question of Witchcraft Debated, ch. i.

considered as capable of comprehending and interpreting those Hebrew terms which are rendered in the English versions of the Scripture, both Protestant and Catholic, by the words sorcerer, wizard, diviner, &c. as persons of our times who have applied themselves for a few years, and even during that time only incidentally, perhaps, to the study of Hebrew.

The high opinion entertained of the work of Doctor Calmeil, by the author, is amply shewn in the extensive use made of it in these pages. It would be difficult to exaggerate its merits. There certainly is no work in the English language on Epidemic Insanity, where so much valuable information is to be found, or wherein that subject is treated with such a profound knowledge of it in all its bearings.

It has the merit, moreover, of exhibiting strong sympathies with humanity, enlightened views, and just notions on all questions of medical jurisprudence.

But one great objection, and of most grave importance, truly, must be taken to all those parts of the work in which the author treats of the miracles both of the Old and New Testament. There is no avowed disbelief in the Christian religion, no revolting declaration of distrust in the miraculous powers of Christ or his Apostles, no express denunciation of the Saviour's miracles as impostures; and yet all the tendencies of the author's references to them are to this effect, that all miracles are attri-

butable to the operation of natural causes; and all diseases recorded in the Scriptures, as being produced by evil spirits, and cures described therein as miraculously performed, as being explicable to medical philosophy, on grounds purely natural and scientific. Most assuredly, if the medical philosophy that teaches that opinion in France, or elsewhere, (and we need not travel out of modern English medical literature of the highest standing for it) be true—Christianity is not. We have to make our election between the teaching of that modern philosophy and that of the Gospel: and to stand by our decision. There is no mincing the matter. There is no use in pretending to say Calmeil and his *emules* in the schools of modern medical philosophy do not formally, and in distinct express terms deny the divinity of Christ, or the truth of the supernatural works ascribed to them by the Gospel. Calmeil, and the psycologists of his school, cut the ground as far as they are able from under the foundations of Christianity, *by discrediting all miracles*, and involving the character of those recorded in Scripture in the opprobrium and contempt which they have brought on the impostures and fanatical pretensions of which we read in the description "Des Grandes Epidemies de Delire" of the middle ages.

It would be more courageous for the incredulity and disbelief in revelation, of modern science and philosophy to assail Christianity openly, and with sword in hand pointed at its throat, than to approach

its fortifications with unfriendly designs, under false colours, or to sap the foundations covertly, when the defenders are off their guard, unsuspicious of any attack.

That species of cautious animosity which is "willing to wound but yet afraid to strike," is very manifest in the strictures of Monsieur Calmeil on miracles recorded in the Scriptures, and it is the more dangerous because it is unaccompanied with any apparent violence, obvious hostility or offensive vulgarity of contumely, profanity or impiety.

This observation, it cannot be denied, applies to a large portion of the highest order of the scientific, philosophical, and more erudite criticism of Germany and England. Nothing in the New Testament is more express, than the numerous appeals made by the Evangelists to the miraculous powers of Christ, exhibited in the casting out of devils and healing the sick: and the attribution of those powers to his Apostles. The purpose of those appeals is plainly seen in the convincing argument they furnished for the end of Christ's coming into this world, the destruction of the kingdom of darkness, the overthrow of Paganism, the establishment and maintenance of the Christian religion.

The devil is called "The Prince of the power of the air," "the God of this world," and his kingdom had subsisted above two thousand years before the advent of the Messiah.

On His coming the most famous oracles of Pagan-

ism were silenced; its philosophy was disconcerted and bewildered.

St. John says, "For this purpose the Son of God was manifested that He might destroy the works of the devil." The unclean spirits not only acknowledged him "The Holy one of God," but those whom He sent forth. "The seventy returned to him with joy, saying, Lord, even the devils are subject unto us through Thy name." After his death and resurrection his disciples and followers exercised the power that had been promised them. "And these signs shall follow them that believe; in my name they shall cast out devils."

In the extracts which follow from the Apologies for the Christian religion of Justin Martyr and of Tertullian, to the close of the second century, the appeals to those miraculous powers of the primitive Christians were triumphantly addressed to Pagan Emperors and Senates. The possession of those powers, an eminent Protestant divine declares, "was a standing miracle for several hundred years together, till the kingdom of darkness was destroyed and the Christian religion became the joy of the whole earth."

But the Christian religion has certainly not yet become the joy of "*the whole earth.*"

It never embraced one half the limits of the Pagan world, and until it does embrace the whole, there is certainly nothing in Scripture to warrant the belief that the promise shall be abrogated which

was given to those who preached the Gospel. "And these signs shall follow them that believe; in my name they shall cast out devils," &c.

The maintenance of Christianity, as well as its establishment, required that standing miracle of power over the kingdom of darkness.

The institution of a Christian Church and the development of its organization may have superseded the necessity for the ordinary appeal to miraculous works, and rendered the display of supernatural power over demoniac influences less necessarily frequent than in the times of primitive Christianity. But while far more than one half of the population of the world are involved in Paganism, the purpose for which the Son of God was manifested, "that He might destroy the works of the devil," it cannot be said is yet accomplished wholly, and that the promise is now null and void, "And these signs shall follow them that believe; in his name they shall cast out devils," &c.

But Mons. Calmeil, and his fellow psychologists and medical philosophers, see nothing more in the devil-craft of our Saviour's time and of the early ages of Christianity than priest-craft. Hence it can be no wonder that any suspicion of devil-craft in the extraordinary phenomena of the furibund orgies of the Beguards, the homicidal fanatics of the Pays-du-Vaud and Berne, the Lycanthropists of Germany, the Convulsionnaires of St. Medard, the Anabaptists of the Low Countries, can never cross their minds.

We have unfortunately too much evidence in the history of the various Epidemic disorders of the human mind, in the middle ages especially, of the fatal influence exercised on the reasoning powers of men at various epochs of great public calamities or signal visitations of the wrath of God—in times of barbarity, or periods of great sufferings from war, rapacity, feudal tyranny, superstition, insecurity, hardship and privation, in producing those "grandes delires," which though attributable clearly to epidemic insanity, have been ignorantly, unjustly, and inhumanly dealt with, as crimes against religion punishable with death and persecution. Terrible crimes in the name of religion have been committed against humanity in dealing with those victims of epidemic insanity.

But in our horror of them it is not necessary to the interests of religion or of justice to have recourse, in every similar case of an extraordinary nature manifesting mental and physical phenomena, which philosophers and medical science are not competent to explain, to priest-craft for a solution of the difficulties which present themselves; and to deny that there is any power which can be exerted by devil-craft in this world which could account for them.

CHAPTER X.

THE REVIVED SORCERY OF PAGANISM.—MANIACAL EPIDEMICS.—THE PREVALENCE OF WITCHCRAFT MONOMANIA, IN AN EPIDEMIC FORM, IN VARIOUS CONTINENTAL COUNTRIES, AND IN THE PENINSULA, IN THE 15TH, 16TH, AND 17TH CENTURIES.

THE sorcery and necromancy of Pagan Rome, for the ministration of their mysteries and its idolatry, had their oracles, priestesses, and sibyls; their Sagæ, Lemures, Lamiæ or Veneficæ, Lares and Penates, time-honoured progenitors of our degenerate demon-worshippers, fortune-tellers, predicters, invokers of spirits, see-ers of apparitions, wizards and witches,—"et hoc genus omne servorum et servarum Diabolorum."

The Inquisition, in its relations with the epidemic mental disturbances of the middle ages, shared in all the ignorance that prevailed in those times. But with its ignorance, craft and power were unhappily blended; and fanaticism and intolerance operating in the same direction, identified crimes, which, in numberless cases, had no common origin.

The learned Jesuit Delrio, in his celebrated work on Magic, written at the close of the 16th century, (the date of the preface of the first edition is

1596)* professes to give an account of all things necessary to be known on the subject of Magic, its curious arts and vain superstitions, by theologists, jurists, physicians, and philosophers.

In the prologue to the first book and chapter of his work, the author sets out with an exposition of the necessity of his work on the following grounds: At that time the reason of so many sorcerers was on account of a defect in faith. Many heretics, at the same time, were sorcerers; and heresy was generally wont to terminate in sorcery.

It is not without reason that attention is particularly called to this subject: for it is deeply to be lamented, that in our own times, nay, in the present year 1856, we should find in various periodicals and public journals of high character, in other Catholic countries, as well as in Rome and Vienna, no small portion of their space devoted to a work entitled, "The Jew of Verona," wherein the modern practice of demon worship is solemnly asserted—the time assigned to it—the period of the late revolutionary movements in Italy—the scene of that diabolical worship Rome itself, as well as other revolutionized places; and the actors in those impious rites of Satanic adoration—the associates and colleagues, and confederates of Mazzini and Garribaldi.

The demon-worshippers are as old as the opinions

* Delrio Martino. Magicarum Disquisitiones: seu Methodus Confessariorum Directioni Commoda. Moguntia. 1618. 4to. in 3 tomes.

of the most ancient philosophers of the Pagan world, who speculated on the existence of two contrary and contending principles, always in operation and in conflict—one a preservative, the other a destructive principle.

In the Paganism of antiquity there is no doubt that the evil and destructive principle had its worship and worshippers, as in the modern Paganism of some African tribes, the same principle represented by the Fetish of the Kroomen has its homage in the terrors it inspires, and the deprecation of that wrath that is considered the source of all mischief here below.

But that any sect professing Christianity, and composed of members of sane mind, ever held the doctrine of the demon being entitled to homage at their hands, Llorente thinks highly improbable and absurd to imagine. The testimony, however, of the inquisitors, on whose reports the opinion promulgated in the pontificate of Julius II. was founded, was derived from confessions of so-called sorcerers, extorted by terror, by torture, by that dominant contagious impulse (to which I shall elsewhere have occasion to allude), which impels numbers of people accused of the same crime, susceptible of the same superstitious feelings, surrounded by the same circumstances of a fanatical nature, perpetually having the crime of which they are accused suggested to them—to make any confession that is sought from them.

In 1484 Pope Innocent VIII. fulminated a bull against sorcery, wherein it was stated, that demon-worship prevailed in several parts of Germany, and

had taken deep root, especially in Cologne, Mayence, Treves, Salzburg, and Bremen: and various calamities—disturbances of the atmosphere—blight of the vine—loss of crops—pestilential epidemics—destruction of cattle—were attributed to diabolical agencies, and the commerce of sorcerers with evil spirits.

The Pope Adrian VI. (who had been Inquisitor-General in Spain) published a bull the 20th July, 1523, in which he stated, that from the time of his predecessor Julius II. (that is to say, from 1503 to 1513) a sect extremely numerous had existed in Lombardy, whose followers had abjured the Christian faith, and made a practice of sacrilege, profanation of the most sacred rites, divers kinds of sorceries.*

At the times above referred to, and for at least a century preceding them, it must be observed, large bodies of people roamed about in several continental countries, and excited the fears of their rulers both civil and ecclesiastical.

THE MIGRATORY EPIDEMIC.

This disordered state of the mental faculties, may be thus designated; a result of great excitement, exaltation and depression, following hard on great public calamities or disturbances of nature, which manifests itself in a prevalent feeling of *malaise*, of unrest, and gloomy prospects everywhere within the horizon of home and country, and which ends in

* Llorente. "Histoire de L'Inquisition D'Espagne traduite par Pellier." Par. 1817, in 4 Tomes, t. 2, p. 40.

causing large numbers, to abandon both, making religion a plea for that abandonment.

At various times, in the middle ages, the minds of a multitude of people seem simultaneously to have been affected with this universal feeling of *malaise*, accompanied by an irresistible and unaccountable impulse to go forth and walk out of one's own land and place in society, to move with masses of people with some apparent instinct of a high purpose; at one period, they appear as it were on a pilgrimage, but without any definite object or fixed shrine, like the Bianchi in the thirteenth century, wandering *en masse* from one end of Italy to the other, making no proclamation of plan or object, but moving onward with a dim confused idea that God's honour was in some way or other to be promoted by these peregrinations.

The persons generally who laboured under the migratory monomania were in a state of moral and physical disquietude, actuated by a strong sentiment of impending judgments, of the necessity of fleeing from the wrath to come, and having a sort of instinctive feeling favourable to migratory expeditions—to wanderings with masses of people in pilgrimage or without a definite object, but with a vague expectation of reforming the world, and perhaps with some shadowy visions occasionally flitting across their imaginations that honour or gain, or pre-eminence of some kind, was to be acquired by their peregrinations.

This migration monomania, connected with fana-

tical ideas, was a new method of salvation—"novum salutis genus."

The migrations that I refer to are spontaneous movements of masses of people, independently of their legitimate rulers, the Crusades are migratory epidemics of another class.

If at any period the Crusades assumed the former character, it was in the first enterprize, when "in the spring of A.D. 1096, above sixty thousand of the population, of both sexes, from the confines of France and Lorraine, flocked round the first missionary of the Crusade, and pressed him with importunity to lead them to the holy sepulchre."*

In the year 1300, in the midst of the greatest strife that ever reigned in Italy, both in the spiritual and temporal affairs of that ill-fated country, in the midst of frightful convulsions of the earth, of earthquakes, as we are told by Platina, which endured many days, Pope Boniface VIII., in the temporary place of refuge he had caused to be constructed for himself in the court-yard of a Dominican convent at Rietz, after the creation of a great number of Cardinals, ordained the first Jubilee that was instituted.† Innumerable multitudes of people flocked to Rome on this memorable occasion. The number of pilgrims for some time who arrived daily exceeded 200,000, as we are told by Muratori.

But during the actual solemnization of the Jubi-

* Gibbon. History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire. Bohn, 1855. 12mo. p. 413.

† Vit. de Pontif. p. 337.

lee, although "there was peace throughout Italy," the profound lull was only of that kind which is the surest presage of a tempest: revolts, civil wars, foreign alliances, contested successions to German thrones, interferences of the Court of Rome, and reprisals of sovereigns on the Holy See, followed hard upon the celebration of "The Holy Year."

The works of John Wier, a native of Brabant, (born in 1515, deceased 1577, cognomento Joannis Wierus, *Piscinarium*) contain all the knowledge that was possessed in his time on the subject of sorcery, witchcraft, and divination.

There is no published work of the sixteenth century that contains so much valuable information on the subject of those inquiries. Wierus was a physician of repute in the Low Countries. He spent some twenty years in the service of the Duke of Cleves, and appears to have been not only thoroughly convinced that terrible crimes against humanity were committed in those ages, but that a very large number of the cases of epidemic monomania which occurred in religious communities in those times were the results of possession by evil spirits.

Wierus notwithstanding was a man of great intelligence and learning, and it may be safely said that all the learning that existed in his times on the subject of sorcery was possessed by him.

In stating, then, the opinions entertained by

Wierus on those subjects, I am dealing with the knowledge of his time existing on them; and it is quite unnecessary in our times to wonder at the narrowness of its limits in respect to mental maladies.

It is not necessary, to embrace Wierus's opinions of the diabolical agencies and influences which he attributed generally to the phenomena that were produced by natural operations and physical causes. It is sufficient that we have presented to us by an erudite physician, and a man of high character and integrity, the facts and opinions of the Jenner of his age in regard to them, and that we deal with them in such a manner as the lights of our own age may enable us to do legitimately and usefully.

Wierus applied himself early to the study of philosophy and classical learning. He embraced the medical profession, and visited Paris, and soon made himself known to the most eminent men of his profession by his extensive and solid knowledge in medical science. He travelled in Europe, the Levant and Africa.

About 1550 he became principal physician to the Duke of Cleves, and continued in that office upwards of twenty years. While resident in the Duchy of Cleves, he witnessed with pain the sufferings of a great number of people, on suspicion of sorcery, imprisoned, tortured and burned. The strong impression made on his mind by these occurrences, led to a profound study of the subject of sorcery, and the publication of the treatise entitled "Opus de Veneficis et sagis;" in which a vast deal of erudition

is to be found connected with medical science, philosophy, theology, and jurisprudence, bearing on the subject of his researches. He died suddenly at Teklemborg in 1577.

Wierus is not always apparently consistent. His sentiments and his medical science were far in advance of those of his age. He made a nearer approach to the enlightenment of medical philosophy of modern times, on the subject of those aberrations of the intellect of which he treated than any medical writer of his age. He maintained that a vast number of those who perished at the stake as magicians were sick people, either bodily or mentally disordered, and sometimes both, and that the judges who condemned them thereby committed great crimes against justice and humanity. But in numerous instances he declares there was no doubt of diabolical possession. He acquits the sorcerers, however, who were accused of having occasioned it.

A question of much importance in an enquiry of this sort is connected with this apparent anomaly. It is only after very careful inquiry into the matter and close examination of his opinions, that I come to this conclusion. Wierus, a Protestant physician, was a man of a phlegmatic temperament. Moderate in all his views, tolerant in his opinions, and anything but an enthusiast or a fanatic in his religious

* The edition of the works of Wier in my possession, to which reference is made—"Opera omnia Joannis Wieri," 4to. Amst. 1660.

sentiments. He was naturally of a humane disposition. He appears to have been a sincere and implicit believer in revealed religion.

We gather not from any passage in particular, but from the concurrent meaning and indications of opinion of numerous passages throughout his work, that Wierus believed that evil spirits existed not only in the infernal regions but had an invisible empire in the air and on the earth; that their enmity to mankind was constant and indefatigable; that they had a malign power capable of suggesting evil to men's minds and of tormenting them corporeally. But that the exercise of such power was not necessarily or generally the result of mediate human influence, of compacts with demons, or spells, magic arts or incantations of persons called witches and sorcerers.

In short, he was of opinion, the existence of witches and sorcerers was a fable; and that of evil spirits here below, in legions too that are numberless, was a fact.

He believed in diabolical possession; but invariably maintained those persons who are of sane minds in sound bodies and not abandoned to vice, are the least subject to this dire affliction. There are several diseases be believed, complicated functional disorders of the liver, spleen, stomach, the nerves, and the brain, which produce certain morbid conditions, that evil spirits find apt and fit for their operations: and it is persons so circumstanced (whose cases had come to his own knowledge) who are found or thought to be possessed.

This distinction it is very important to bear in mind, in all researches on this subject.

To fanatics of savage minds and sanguinary dispositions, like Bodin the author of the Demonologia, the opinions of Wierus were necessarily distasteful. He therefore treats him as a man in the interest of Satan: a promoter of impiety and atheism: an agent of the devil who served by his writings to swell the number of souls in hell, advocating as he did the cause of sorcery, by counselling magistrates to spare the lives of sorcerers.

By another writer of the same school, Don Francisco Torreblanca, a Spanish lawyer and jurisconsulist of great eminence, he is treated pretty much in the same fashion but in milder terms.

This work of Torreblanca,* written by order of the Spanish sovereign, Philip III., was intended to expound, chiefly for the use of lawyers and theologians who were canonists connected with tribunals of justice, all laws human and divine which could be brought to bear against persons accused or suspected of witchcraft. If the legal doctrines laid down in that terrible book could be acted on and carried out practically in any country, so indiscriminate is its category of crimes connected with witchcraft and heresy, so infuriate is its fanaticism, so wholesale its assignment of capital punishments, tortures and confiscations to convictions on charges

* "Demonologia sive de Magia Naturale Demoniaca," &c. 4to. Mogunt. 1623.

falling within that category above referred to—charges in numerous instances the most frivolous, absurd, and obviously destitute of any solid foundation, that the land would be wasted and desolated, by the execution of that code of blood and terror. The people of that land, who had witnessed and survived its horrors, might indeed truly say of it—

> "Alas poor country
> Almost afraid to know itself! It cannot
> Be called our mother, but our grave: where nothing
> But who knows nothing, is once seen to smile:
> Where sighs and groans, and shrieks that rend the air
> Are made not mark'd: where violent sorrow
> Seems a modern ecstasy."

Bodin, in his head-long rage and animosity to Wierus, on account of his efforts to stay the fanaticism which steeped the soil of nearly all Europe with gore, accuses him on one ground especially of being an abettor of sorcery. But, in bringing forward the latter charge, he is obliged to implicate in it a very learned and virtuous Benedictine friar, Trithemius, abbot of Spanheim. Bodin refers to a passage in the works of Wierus, where the latter states he found in the Cabinet of Agrippa a work of Trithemius, entitled "Steganographie," which work, according to Bodin, was filled with the names of the demons, and the prayers with which the author, Trithemius, invoked the evil spirits: which work Wierus transcribed entirely, and as Bodin concludes, in so doing incurred the guilt of sorcery.

The work of Trithemius, "Steganographia," which is referred to by Bodin, I have carefully examined.* It must have been written before 1516, for the author who was born in 1462 died in 1516. The design of the work is to shew how persons may correspond in different manners by members. It differs not essentially, as far as the object is concerned, from the treatise of the learned and eccentric, but original thinker, Dr. John Wilkins, Dean of Ripon (subsequently Bishop of Chester) entitled, "*Mercury, or the secret and swift messenger*, shewing how a man may with privacy and speed communicate his thoughts to a friend at any distance." 3rd edition, Lond. 1707. Here will be found an exact conformity with the design of the work of Trithemius, and with the ideas and arguments of the latter in favour of the system of symbolic writing for the conveyance of secret intelligence.

Bishop Wilkins heads the ninth chapter of his treatise thus: "Of concealing any written sense under barbarous words; and such as shall not seem to be of any signification," &c.†

And a previous chapter (2) is thus headed: "The conditions requisite to secrecy, the use of it in the

* "Steganographia: hoc est Ars per occultam Scripturam animi sui voluntatem Absentibus aperiendi certa. Authore Rev. et Clar. Viri Joanne Trithemio, Abbate Spanheimensi, et Magice Naturalis Magistro Perfectissimo. 4to. Darmstadt. 1621.

† Wilkins. The Secret and Swift Messenger, p. 7.

matter of speech *either by fables of* the heathen *or by parables of Scripture.**

Now Trithemius adopted the jargon of the sorcerers whom in the preface to his tract he expressly repudiates. He selects the names given by them to demons as representatives of the characters in common use, and he certainly introduces into his treatise the most astounding collection of diabolical names, of a most barbarously sounding nomenclature that can be imagined. And not content with this, he heads and concludes chapters with cabalistic conjurations of spirits, and directions how to find out the spirits of particular places.

Here is one of them, word for word, and in its integrity.

"*Carmen Conjurationis.*"

"Demoriel onear dabursoy
Chamerson chelrusys noeles
Scheinlaryn venodru patron
Myselro chabardon revaon
Maferos ratigiel personay
Lodiol Camedon nasiel
Fabelmarusin sociel chamarchoysin.
Completo carmine.
Spiritus ad omnia promptus
Obediens et paratipumus tibi
Visibilis apparebat cui secure
Committis arcanum perferendum."†

Now the spirit conjured so prompt, obedient,

* Wilkins. The Secret and Swift Messenger, p. 64.

† Trithemius, Steganographia, p. 57.

and always prepared to come when properly invoked, it is clear was the knowledge of the art of symbol writing; which being understood, disclosed the secret meaning that had been hidden from the vulgar, by this ingenious device of a diabolical nomenclature.

Again, we find in Wilkins' treatise, that he suggests the adoption of barbarous words for secret writing—also fables of the heathen and parables of Scripture. Trithemius may have considered the holy Scriptures would be profaned by any such application of their words. But in those he selected for his purpose, he certainly combined the barbarous and the fabulous to a large extent.

But Wilkins seems to have overlooked one remarkable circumstance in the examples given by Trithemius, in this work of his of the mode of conveying secret intelligence from one person to another. The very first example given by him is a form of secret writing, shewing how a prince may be informed of what he desires to know of an absent vassal. Other examples are to the same effect, purporting to be alike serviceable to princes. Trithemius then, if his main design was to serve the higher powers by this art of secret writing, must have desired to give it an occult character, and thus keep it from the eyes of the vulgar. But I have no doubt that the author began to wander in his mind a little before he terminated his labours.

Trithemius affirms that Cicero wrote a treatise

on secret writing, which is very probable from a passage in a letter to Atticus, (lib. 13, ep. 32), and he states that this treatise was afterwards augmented by St. Cyprian, and that he had found in an old library the copy of a Psalter written in those characters, inscribed by some ignorant man with this title, "Psalterum in Lingua Armenica."

But there is a remarkable passage in Bishop Wilkins' treatise, in reference to Trithemius and his system of secret writing:

"The abbot Trithemius in his books concerning the several ways of secret and speedy discoursing does pretend to handle the forms of conjuration, calling each kind of character by the name of spirits, thereby to deter the vulgar from searching into his works. But under this pretence he is thought also to deliver some diabolical magic. Especially in one place where he speaks of the three saturnine angels, and certain images by which in the space of twenty-four hours a man may be informed of news from any part of the world, and this was the main reason why by Junius his advice, Frederick II. did cause the original copy of that work to be burned, which action is so much, though it should seem so unjustly blamed by Selences."*

Bodin would not have been satisfied with burning the book; he would have consumed to ashes the man who wrote it had it been in his power, thus to

* Wilkins. The Secret and Swift Messenger, p. 61.

improve the speculative opinions of the Benedictine friar.

Bodin accuses Wierus of having made a calendar of demons of Satan's empire, giving the names and surnames of 572 princes of that empire, and of seven millions four hundred and five thousand nine hundred and twenty-six devils.

It is pleasing no doubt, and intended to be convincing, to see this exactness in the census of Satan's dominions, and to find of a certainty there were precisely twenty-six devils over and above the 7 millions, 405 thousand and 900 duly recorded in the calendar.

In the remarkable work on the energy or operation of demons by Michael Psellus, (a Byzantine writer of the time of the Emperor Constantine Ducas) translated from the Greek by Pietro Morello, we find magic in connection with heresy in Christian times, traced up to the Gnostics and the Manichean followers of Manes, and those of Euchites held as influenced and acted on by diabolical agencies.* The 3rd chapter is thus headed, "Quare Satanaki Dei filius ab Euchitis dicatur. Hæreson origo à Satana quam cœci menteque capti sunt hæretici, qui demonis illusiones non deprehendant."

Psellus asserts there are six principal *genera* of demons. The first genus which is designated by

* "Dialogus de energia seu operatione dæmonum e Græco translatus. Petro Morello Interprete." 12mo. Par. 1577.

the name *Leliurius,* wanders through the upper regions of the air.

The second, who wanders through the lower atmosphere, contiguous to human beings, is called *Ærial.*

The third, is called *Terrestrial,* and goes about the earth.

The fourth, is termed *Aqueous,* and the sphere of its operations is in the waters of the great deep lakes and rivers.

The fifth, is named *Subterranean,* and is located in the interior of the earth.

The sixth, and last, is denominated *Lucifugus,* it shuns the light of day, and skulks in caves, and catacombs, in all dark and dismal places. All these *genera* of demons burn with a fierce hatred to God, and are adversaries to the human race.

All demons have not the same powers and volitions. For there are some destitute of intelligence, others mute, others less specially qualified to act on the imaginations of men, to create phantasms, to cause visions, exaltations of mind, to inflame the passions and to excite fierce emotions.*

Martinus de Arles, an ecclesiastic of Navarre ("Tractatus de Superstitionibus"), referring to certain forms of diabolical conjurations which had been found in his parish, cites the following formula, by means of which communion with evil spirits was said to be effected:—"Conjuro te per Œlim, per Œlion,

* Psellus. Ib. vide cap. xi. xix. xx.

per Saboan, per Adonay, per Allelujah, per tanti, per Archabulon," &c. And, a little further on, "Sitis allegati et constricta per sancta nomina Dei, Her, Œlli, habet, sat, mi filisgæ adriotiagundi, tat, chamiteram," &c. And, in another formula, "Coriscion, Mabratron Caladafoir Ozcazo, Yostel," &c.

The signification of these abstruse terms would no doubt puzzle any conjuror of modern time.

It is not alone in Berne and Lausanne, throughout the Vaudois territory, and in Languedoc in the 15th century, we look for charges and avowals of sorcery, invocations of evil spirits, compacts with Satan, commerce with subordinate demons, renunciation of Baptismal grace, impious rites and incantations, blasphemies against God, secret murder of children by witchcraft, exhumation of their remains, the horrid hell-broth of the cauldron, the diabolical feast, and the charm of that ointment which enabled the sorcerers to ride in the air, to raise commotions in the elements, to send down all sorts of ills on earth, diseases on man, and beasts to ravage the cornfields, and scatter ruin far and wide. We find them in every country in Europe, at various epochs, for centuries before the period above referred to, and for nearly three centuries after it, and generally in connexion with supposed homicidal tendencies.

In the beginning of the 15th century Demonolatria, or belief in the worship of, and compact with evil spirits, prevailed extensively among the disci-

ples of the sect who called themselves "Pauvres de Lyon," in the Canton de Vaud, and the south of France. The sorcerers in France at that time were commonly known as "faicturiers," and the sorceresses "faicturieres." The hallucinations of the visionaries of the "Pauvres de Lyon" had the most striking resemblance with the later demonolatres of Artois and the Rhenish provinces.

In 1431, Jeanne d'Arc fell a victim to the prevailing belief of the 15th century in demon worship; and within a period of five years we find a multitude of monomaniacs judicially murdered in Switzerland, on charges of sorcery and commerce with infernal spirits. About the year 1436, a rumour began to attract public attention that in the Canton de Vaud there was an association of persons of perverted morals and wicked propensities who practised demonolatria, and who connected with their worship assassination and cannibalism. The environs of Berne and Lausanne were particularly signalized for the scene of these diabolical practices.

The suspected devil worshippers had entered into compacts with the devil, sought nothing but to serve their diabolical master, perpetrated various outrages against morals and religion, and even eat their own children. Thirteen victims, it was affirmed, in a very short time had disappeared and been devoured. The authorities commenced investigations, and instituted proceedings against great numbers of the suspected peasantry of Berne. The civil judge of the

Bolligen, aided by an inquisitor, had hundreds of suspected peasants put to the torture of the *chævalet*, and committed a considerable number to the flames.* Many of the tortured, under the influence of pain and suffering, and others under that of terror only, confessed the practices imputed to them; a pact with Satan, the invocations of devils, the murder of many persons, children especially.†

A woman, who was executed at Berne, made a formal avowal of diabolical crimes, wherein she stated, she belonged to a sect who had sworn obedience to the devil. The followers of that sect looked for their victims, particularly after unbaptized children, or negligently baptized, not being duly signed with the cross. By potent incantations they caused the death of those children, and made it appear the death was caused by suffocation, or some sudden accidental illness. When the remains of those children were interred they exhumed the bodies, put them in a cauldron of boiling water, digested the flesh and bones for food, and with the residue composed an ointment with which those who anointed themselves, would be immediately transported in the air wherever they wished to go. The liquid contents of the cauldron were preserved in fit vessels, and no sooner had a novice of the sect swallowed some drops of this *bouillon* than he felt himself

* Ap. Calmeil de la Folie, t. i. p. 136. Nider in Malleo Malleficorum, tom. i. p. 484.

† Spranger et Nider, Ap. Calmeil, tom. i. p. 137.

initiated in the secrets of the sect, and found himself by his knowledge on a par with the masters of it.*

A young peasant recently married was cast into prison with his wife. He attempted no defence, but cried aloud vehemently: "I am guilty—quite prepared to avow my wickedness. May pardon be granted to me by men, now that I am about to die. Both I and my wife belonged to the company of sorcerers: I renounced the grace of baptism. I engaged myself to kneel to Satan: I have drank the juice extracted from a child's flesh, the juice which the worshippers of Satan preserve so carefully in vessels, and which produces a knowledge which belongs only to the initiated."†

This is not the language of a peasant; the coincidences in the two accounts are too exact to be genuine; but the mode of writing down a *proces verbal* explains all the difficulties of the kind referred to. The account shews clearly the credence of the time in matters of sorcery.

Nider states, this man supported the pain of fire with resignation, and manifested penitence; his young wife, who was burned at the same time, to the last protested against the accusations of her husband, and, ascending the pile, heaped maledictions on her executioner. "A person named Stadelein, whose sorcery had inspired the peasantry of the same locality with terrible alarm, and was similarly

* Calmeil de la Folie, tom. i. p. 137. Spranger, also Nider in "Malleo Maleficorum," tom. i. p. 484.

† Calmeil. Ib. t. 1, p. 138.

punished with fire, as that of the above mentioned unfortunate couple, confessed that he was affiliated with the sect of the enemies of God: that in pronouncing certain words, and practising certain rites, he had the power of compelling the devil to send subordinate spirits on the earth; and according to his account, these demons afterwards caused thunder-storms to burst, and hail-showers to fall on the growing crops of his neighbours. He avowed that he had caused seven children of the same mother to perish, and that a commerce of this kind of infant murder (*ante partu*) was carried on in the habitation of the person above mentioned, and that a malign compound, consisting of the dead body of a lizard, had alone caused all those catastrophes."*

THE BEGARDS.

Another sect prevailed in the 15th century, whose madness was likewise epidemic, that of the *Begards*, of whom Jean Nidier, in his treatise "De Visionibus," &c. (pp. 337, &c.) first printed at Strasbourg in 1517, says, "There crept into Suabia, amongst a great many persons of both sexes, seculars and clergy, a heresy and an hypocrisy, so enormous, that I dare not disclose all the particulars of it, lest I should offend chaste ears. The persons (tainted with it) believe it is lawful to lie, to break their engagements, to put innocent people to death, even their own parents. They fast only when they have to eat with

* Nider, Mal. Malef. Ap. Calmeil, T. 1, p. 138.

others. They use meat, milk, and eggs in Lent. They work in private on solemn festivals, and pass the other days in idleness. They hold in utter contempt the ceremonies of the Church, as works of men of animal instincts, and not of spiritual minds. They place all virtue and perfection in a certain profound meditation, although they are themselves very carnal, and live amongst themselves in a brutal manner, as I am well informed, and they boast even of attaining such a high degree of perfection, that no criminality can be attributed to them. Hence is it, that they make no account of the Pope's authority, and that of the other prelates of the Church. And what is most lamentable is, they seduce stealthily into their disordinate courses persons of quality—virgins and widows."

The Begards were condemned by the Pope, and severely punished by the secular princes of the countries in which they most prevailed—Bohemia, Poland, Bavaria, and some parts of Italy and France.

In 1350 certain heretics designated Begards, whose chief leader was Jacques Juste, says Llorente, were discovered and denounced to the Inquisition at Valence. Jacques was condemned to perpetual imprisonment, the rest were reconciled to the Church.

In 1442 this sect had made some progress in Biscay, at Durango and Calahorra. The King sent certain ecclesiastics as commissioners into those parts, who caused a great number to be put to death.

From 1450 to 1500, the mania of sorcery existed epidemically in France and Germany.

In 1459, in the town of Arras, and throughout the country of Artois, a terrible access of this phrenzied fear of sorcery prevailed. It was called the Vaudoisie sorcery, but for what reason no explanation is given. The persons who were accused of this witchcraft, men and women, transported themselves, it was alleged, by night to forests and desert places, where they were in the habit of meeting the demon in the form of a man, whose face, however, they never saw. This demon gave them his commands on such occasions, and caused them to salute him in a ridiculous manner. This demon then usually gave them a little money, and an abundance of brandy and wines on which they feasted. The lights were then extinguished, and scandalous disorder prevailed. The diabolical orgies then ceased, and instantly all those who assisted at them found themselves in the places from which they had severally come.

The authorities seized on many of the notabilities of Arras, and a multitude of people of inferior condition, and they were so terribly tortured that many confessed themselves guilty of the crime of sorcery imputed to them. And the old chronicler who has recorded this epidemic observes, that they confessed to having seen and heard in those assemblies "many persons of distinction, seigneurs and other magistrates of towns and villages." Considerable numbers of these were taken up and tortured so long and severely, that they confessed whatever they were required to acknowledge. Those who were of

humbler condition, "*des moindres gens* were executed and burned inhumanly." Numbers of the wealthy who were accused were allowed to ransom themselves with money, others fled the country.

The name of Vaudois devil worship, which was given to the Artois mania, helped not a little to the terror inspired by the accusation, for the Vaudois, as heretics, had already been severely visited—exterminès à feu et à sang.

Monstrelet, who has chronicled those proceedings at Arras and Artois, declares that all the accused and the condemned were in full possession of their intellectual faculties. The hallucinations of monomaniacs have been usually punished as apostacies and heresies on the same opinion.

While these proceedings against sorcery were going on in France, demon worship was inquired into, and prosecuted vigorously in Germany.

In 1484, ecclesiastical censures were fulminated against it. Demonolatria, in the bull of Pope Innocent VIII.,* was said to have taken deep root in Cologne, Mayence, Treves, Salzburg, and Bremen. In those censures, associations were denounced whose members carried on a commerce with the devil, and criminal intercourse at their satanic sabbaths with evil spirits, entering into contracts with Satan, taking obligations on them to kill and eat new-born unbaptized children, causing and con-

* Zenor. Bullæ Apostolicæ adversus Hæresim Malcficorum. In Maleo. Malef.

senting to cause tempests in the air, blight of vineyards, destruction of harvests, outbreaks of epidemics, the murrain among cattle, abortions, pining away, and breaking down of virile strength.

There were others labouring under a different form of monomania, who were called *Tempestieres*, supposed to be especially endowed with the power of raising tempests, and destroying crops. They underwent the usual ordeal of examination for the ascertainment of truth, or the amount of pain that can be endured before it can be feigned or forced to take the hue it is expected to assume under torture, and were burned likewise. But it must be admitted that several of those accused of witchcraft seemed eager to avow their imputed crimes, and even went far beyond the limits of the accusations brought against them. These were almost invariably women, and commerce with demons, intercourse with them and killing children, were usually the crimes they seemed driven by an irresistible impulse to confess.

A frightful crusade in Germany and Switzerland against persons suspected of the crime of sorcery, was entered on, and multitudes of men and women perished at the hands of the Inquisition, with the usual delicacy of calling in the aid of the secular arm for the performance of the executions at the stake, between the years 1484 and 1500. Forty women of the sorceresses of Burbie, charged with these crimes, always including the killing and eating

of children, perished in one year in the flames, and great numbers of females to save their lives, or at least their liberty, fled into the territory of Sigismond, in Austria.* All these unfortunate wretches confessed the crimes imputed to them. It was the same with forty-eight others, burned in the space of five years, either at Constance or at Ravensburg. All these confessed devil worship, commerce with demons, with Incubi and Suecubi, and hatred towards God.

The bull of Pope Innocent VIII. directed to the inquisitors of Almaine, plainly shews what deep root the belief in witchcraft, and what wide extension that belief had taken in the minds of Christian people at that period.

Calmeil cites the particulars of the judicial proceedings in some of these cases, of German midwives accused of sorcery and child-murder, and notices particularly, "the apparent authenticity of these confessions, and the gravity, in appearance overwhelming of other proofs, which seemed to rise up against these German women." And he adds—"I avow I find it difficult to believe, that children have (thus) perished, especially in such great numbers at Basle, Strasbourg, and many other localities. I am rather induced to believe, that these unfortunates had accused themselves of crimes which they never committed."

* Spranger, et Henricus, Institutor, in Malleus Maleficorum, tom. i. p. 105, ib. p. 182.

And he grounds this opinion mainly on the fact, that the accusation of these child-murders extended over a period of many years, and no tendency to homicidal monomania had ever been discovered in them, up to the time of their arrest and imprisonment.

Pope Julius II. in 1504, published a brief against sorcery in Cremona, and the adjacent country.

Pope John XXII. issued a bull, designated—"Super illius specula," wherein special cognizance was taken of all the practices, so called, of magic, sorcery, necromancy, &c.

In 1518, in the Venetian territories, a great number of persons, accused of sorcery and heresy, were condemned by the Inquisition, and handed over to the secular arm, and by the civil power were duly consigned to the executioner: and by that functionary the law was finished, and the lives of those who were condemned by it. But the people of Venice rose up against the Inquisitors, and were hardly to be appeased by the Council.

In 1523, Pope Adrian VI. enforced the bull of Pope Innocent VIII. against sorcery, and promulgated a bull, in which the penalty of excommunication was decreed against sorcerers and heretics. The Dominicans were charged with its execution in Lombardy.

In the district of Como alone, the number who perished are estimated by Barth. de Spina (in Malleo Maleficorum) at a thousand a year; and in the space "of seven years," in Piedmont, Lombardy,

and Mirandola, the number who perished was enormous.

In 1574, eighty persons accused of sorcery were put to death at Valery, in Savoy.

The partial madness which passes under the name of Demonolatria became contagious in the South of France, about 1577. At that time an eminent jurist, Gregory of Toulouse, who was engaged in a work on jurisprudence, relates some phenomena of sorcery, which were then of common occurrence in Languedoc especially. He says, in this work, that "the sorcerers, whom the Senate of Toulon had to judge in 1577, were more numerous than all the other accused persons, not sorcerers, who had been brought before the local tribunals in the space of two years. Many of them had to suffer punishments more or less grave; near four hundred were condemned to perish in the flames; and that, which is calculated to excite no small degree of surprise, almost all bore the mark of the devil."* The four hundred condemned monomaniacs of the *Haute Languedoc* bore, no doubt, evident marks of disordered intellect, but these to the legal mind of the eminent Toulousan jurist were marks of the demon.

Nicholas Remy, in an account of the judicial proceedings against sorcerers, who were demon worshippers in Lorraine, where he filled the office of *Procureur Criminel*, states, that nine hundred per-

* Gregorius. Tertius postremo Syntagmatis juris universi pars. Lib. 34, cap. 21, ap. Des Grandes Delires, t. 1. p. 287.

sons were put to death in the fifteen intervening years—between 1580 and 1595.*

In the poor and miserable mountainous district of St. Claude, in the Jura, some leagues from Ferney, Lycanthropy in connection with Demonopathy, and Demonopathy, reigned epidemically towards the end of the 16th century, after periods of scarcity and privation.

It has been observed by Calmeil, in his account of the judicial proceedings at Avignon, in 1582, against persons accused of demon-worship, that "almost all those who laboured under delirium, connected with Demonomania, were of accord in confessing, that the first diabolical apparitions, or first hallucinations, occurred after long sufferings, either moral or physical, or while they were a prey to poignant afflictions. It is in analogous circumstances, that in the present times mental disorders manifest themselves."

In 1582, the Pere Michàelis, in his work entitled, "Pneumalogie ou Discours sur les Esprits," &c., in 4to. 1587, gives an account of a number of persons who were brought before the Inquisition, accused of sorcery. These persons, he states, had escaped as if by a miracle from the famine which prevailed at that time. They did not escape, however, from the Inquisition. Many of them (but the number is not stated) were condemned, handed over to the secular arm, and it is needless to say, were put to death.

* Nicolai Remigii. Demonolatria. Liber 3, and Col. Agripp. 1596.

Boguet, chief judge of the district, which included St. Claude, was charged with an investigation into the rumoured prevalence of Lycanthropy and sorcery in the Jura, and the punishment of the guilty; and he carried on his proceedings with such zeal that he was able to boast at the termination of his career, it is affirmed, that he had caused more than six hundred Lycanthropes or Demonolatres to perish.*

"In our days," says Calmeil, "the delirium varies according to the predominance of ideas. But in the time of Michaelis, partial delirium generally presented only one and the same hue, and in perceiving the image of a fantastic person, the individual having that hallucination at once believes himself in presence of a demon."

This just observation should be borne in mind in all inquiries into subjects of this nature. It applies to the case particularly of the wretched population of the desert and dreary locality of St. Claude, in the vicinity of Ferney.

A French clergyman, named Trois Echelles, was accused of sorcery in the reign of Charles IX., but had the good fortune to escape the flames on that occasion. He was less fortunate on the second occasion, and expired at the stake. During his imprisonment he accused vast numbers of people of witchcraft and demon worship.

In the reign of Henri Quatre, one of the judicial

* Calmeil, tom. i. p. 311.

magistrates of Bourgogne, wrote a furious tirade against the sorcerers of France, whom he counted by hundreds of thousands. He referred to the authority of Father Trois Echelles, who had declared, in the time of Charles IX., that their number in France alone was 300,000. He spoke with complacency of the numbers they had burned in Burgundy. But, nevertheless, in various countries they went on multiplying prodigiously, even like grubs in a garden. "Je tiens que les sorcieres pourroient dresser une armèe egale a celle de Xerxes qui estoit de dix huit cent-milles hommes." And in the Dedication to the Abbè d'Acey, of his "Discours," this astounding passage occurs: "Je veux bien qu'ils saçhent que si les effets correspondoyent à ma volontè, la terre seroit tantost repurgèe, car je desire qu'ils fussent tous unis en un seul corps, pour les faire brusler tout à un fois en un seul feu."*

Boguet juge de Bourgoğne should have his name inscribed in history in the highest place on the list of men of surpassing infamy; for probably so atrocious a sentiment as the preceding was never deliberately expressed, and recorded in print by any writer.

He estimated the number of sorcerers in Europe at 1,800,000 men; a number, he says, equal to the army of Xerxes, and he wished it were possible to unite them all in one mass, that he might burn the whole in one and the same fire.

In 1589, a medical officer, named Pigray, charged

* Calmeil, Ses Grandes Delires, tom. i. p. 217.

with three other commissaries, with the examination of fourteen persons accused of sorcery, who had been previously tried and condemned to death, while the Parliament sat at Tours, in a medical treatise (book vii. ch. x.) in which a report of this inquiry is given, says: "We found them to be very poor, stupid people, and some of them insane; many of them were quite indifferent about life, and one or two of them desired death as a relief for their sufferings.

"Our opinion was that they stood more in need of medicine than of punishment; and so we reported to the Parliament.

"Their case was, thereupon, taken into further consideration, and the Parliament, after mature counsel amongst all the members, ordered the poor creatures to be sent to their homes, without inflicting any punishment upon them."

From the commencement of the 16th to the close of that century, judicial proceedings against persons accused of sorcery, as Lycanthropes and Demonolatres, or generally suspected so to be, or on confession after torture, charged with frequenting demon sabbaths, at which murdered children were eaten, prevailed extensively in the south of France, Spain, Germany, and some parts of Italy; and vast numbers of executions were the result.

Towards the end of the 16th century, the Monomania which was designated by the names of Demonomania, Lycanthropy, and Demonopathy,

prevailed in some of the mountainous districts of Switzerland.

In 1615 and 1616, twenty-one monomaniacs, accused of sorcery and treated as Demonolatres, were dragged before the tribunals of La Sologne and Berri, and several were condemned to be strangled and afterwards burned.

Under Charles V. in the Netherlands, the number of persons put to death for religious opinions, not in accordance with those of their rulers, is said by Grotius not to be under one hundred thousand: "Carnificata hominum non minus centum millia."*

Spain, in the beginning of the 16th and throughout the 17th century, figured largely in the terrible crusade of the times against people labouring under epidemic insanity.

"In 1507, it appears that the Inquisition of Calahorra (in Spain), caused to be burned upwards of thirty women as sorceresses and witches."†

In 1527, a great number of sorceresses were discovered in Navarre, we are told by Llorente. The discovery was made by means of two girls, one aged eleven, another ten years of age; and the particulars are related by the Bishop of Tui, Dom Prudent de Sandoval, in his history of Charles V. He states that the two children came of their own accord, and denounced themselves to the Royal Council of Navarre, as members of the sect of *Jurguinas*,

* Grotius. Annales, p. 12. Ed. 1678.

† Llorente, Inquis. de l'Espagne, t. 2. p. 46.

that is to say, sorcerers; and they undertook to discover all the women who were sorceresses if they were themselves pardoned. The proposition was accepted. The children declared they had only to look into the left eye of any woman to see if she was given to sorcery or not. They indicated the place where a great number of the women who practised sorcery held their assemblies. *The Royal Council appointed a Commissary to conduct the two little girls, escorted by fifty cavaliers, to the place indicated.*

On arriving in each hamlet or town, the children were placed in two houses apart, and inquiries were set on foot by the Commissary and the local magistrates, as to the existence of any witches in the place. Several were accordingly suspected and confronted with the children, and we are told the result was that all of them who were declared practisers of sorcery by the children really were such. They who were sent to prison acknowledged that their sect consisted of about 150; they had sabbath orgies of an abominable nature, a principal demon in the form of a buck goat, entirely black, figured in the assemblies, and was worshipped with some ridiculous and other revolting rites. The witches and wizards danced at a hoarse signal given by the goat-demon; then there were repasts, renunciations of Christ, adoration of demons, transformations of the witches and wizards into buck goats, anointings of the body with grease of various reptiles, and other strange and disgusting

substances, flights in the air at will, slipping into houses through open windows and doors, scattering spells and effecting poisonings. The episcopal historian who makes this recital, adds, that the Commissary of the Royal Council wishing to have ocular evidence of the extraordinary feats ascribed to these sorceresses, caused one of them, an old woman, to be brought to him, and promised her pardon on condition of her performing before him all the operations of sorcery, and permitted her also, if she possessed the power, to make her escape, while these operations were performing. The offer was accepted; she asked for a box of ointment which had been found on her, and ascended a tower accompanied by the Commissary, and at the top placed herself beside him at a window. "She began, in the sight of a great number of persons, to apply the ointment with the palm of the left hand to the wrist, the back of the neck, under the arms, on the loins, and on the left side. Then she said in a very strong voice, Are you there? all the spectators heard in the air a voice which answered, 'Yes, I am here.' The woman then began to descend the tower (by the external wall), the head downward, using her hands and feet after the manner of lizards. When she reached the middle of the tower's height, she made a dart into the air before those present, who did not cease to see her until she had passed beyond the horizon."

In the astonishment which this prodigy had

thrown the world into, the Commissary caused it to be made public, that he would give a considerable sum of money to any person who would bring back the sorceress to him. She was presented to him in two days time, having been discovered and arrested by some shepherds. The Commissary inquired, why she had not flown far enough to escape pursuit? To which she replied, that her master did not wish to transport her beyond the distance of three miles, and that he had left her in the field where the shepherds had found her.*

The local judge having proceeded against the 150 sorceresses of this locality, they were delivered to the Inquisition of Estella, and neither the diabolical ointment nor their supposed master was of sufficient avail to save them from 200 lashes each and several years of imprisonment. Notwithstanding the gravity of the authority of the bishop who relates these matters, Llorente says, he believed nothing of the movement of this witch along the face of the tower, nor of the flight in the air which is related by him. And if this bishop be the same Sandoval, who is the author of a chronicle of the country which was the scene of this extraordinary exploit, I would be disposed to place little reliance on any statement of his in matters which were at all strange or astounding in the sight of ignorant and superstitious people.

In 1536, several were burned at Saragossa.

* Sandoval, Hist. de Car. V. liv. 16. sec. 16; Llorente, t. 2, p. 46.

"Divination, which is false prophecy," we are told by Torreblanca, has led even in some religious houses to great scandals, and even tragedies.

In a monastery, he states, of most strict discipline in Cordova, during the lifetime of St. Ignatius of Loyola, the devil in the guise of sanctity insinuated his malice into the mind of Magdalena de la Cruz. "For thirty years," says Torreblanca, "she practised not only on fellow-citizens of mine who were acute intelligent persons, but even on princes, till tiring at length of such wicked imposture, she was brought before the Inquisitors, confessed her crime, and was admitted to salutary penitence; as we find narrated by a fellow-citizen of mine (Episcopus Jacob. Semanc. de Cath. Instit. tit. 21. n. 24), and by Peter Ribadeneira," (in Vita S. Ignatii, lib. v. cap. 10).*

That is all we find in Torreblanca's work of the thirty years' imposture of Magdalena de la Cruz. But elsewhere we find strange notices of her and her doings.

Torreblanca states, "about the year 1546, in Portugal, there was another woman not of less pretensions to sanctity and religion, deluded by the devil, who attracted public attention by so many feigned miracles and revelations, that she was accounted a saint, so that she even led into error a prelate of the Church, who venerated her even as another St. Catherine of Sienna, (quia plagas finx-

* Torreblanca. De Demonologia, 4to. p. 167.

erat) as we find related (Horoscop. Covarr. lib. i. de falsa prophetia, cap. 24.)"*

In forming an opinion of these cases, as to the question of imposture or delusion on the part of the persons above referred to, Torreblanca's judgment must be held of small account, for he treats Jeanne D'Arc in the same way as he does those persons—as feigners and impostors beguiled by devils.

In the warfare of two religious orders, the impostures of Magdalena de la Cruz, the abbess of a convent of the Dominican order in Cordova, were brought to light by the Franciscans. The following wonderful feats were attributed to or claimed by her. She had been elevated in the air the height of a human being; she had passed without impediment through a stone wall; she had been ministered to by angels; her hair had marvellously grown all of a sudden so as to cover her entire person, and shrunk again to its usual proper size and quantity. She fell into trances and had extraordinary visions, seeing into things and places that were far distant, and into events yet unborn in the womb of time. And all these wonders were achieved, as she declared, by gifts and graces derived from God for good and religious ends.

Torreblanca gives the following account of Magdalena de la Cruz.

"Similia alia fecit, apud concives meos, Magda-

* Torreblanca, ib. p. 167.

lena de la Cruz, dum dolia confracta redintegrabat, rosas in hyeme, nives in æstate adferebat. Et quod magis admiratur, dum viaticum corpus Domini per vias præteriret parietes monasterii (cui se devoverat) in duas partes scindebat et eum adoraret, et rursus eas uniri compellebat. Et dum Puer essem, audivi *ex avo meo Francisco Ferdinandez, teste oculato* genitoris mei Michaelis Hieronymi Torreblanca patre. Quod non solum prestigiis fieri potest, sed etiam motu locali, nam dæmon potuit parietes scindere, dum corpus domini præteribat, et interim molem sustentare, ne lapides ruerent. Et postea eadem celeritate, atque dexteritate, iterum eos in suum locum reponere. Ut docet (Mart. Del Rio de Magica.) In extasi frequenter rapiebatur: *Extases* dico, non quod anima ejus extra corpus peregrinaretur, nam, quamdiu quisque vivit, anima sine carne esse non potest: (ut docet Tertullian. lib. de Anima, et lib. de Resurrect. carn.) Sed, sopitis sensibus, e terrâ per dæmonem motu locali elevabatur, et pro sancta haberetur, ut de Marco Maga narrat Irenæus." Lib. contra hæres. cap. 6.)*

In 1544, an ancient abbess of a convent of Cordova, was burned on the same charge.

In 1610, the Inquisitors of Logrogno celebrated an auto-da-fé, after having condemned fifty-two persons, twelve of whom were sentenced to *relaxation*, and twenty-one to minor punishments. Six

* Torreblanca, ib. p. 216.

only of the relaxados were burned alive, the others were consumed in effigy. Of the condemned eighteen were sorcerers.*

In 1621, the Inquisition in its loyalty wishing to celebrate the succession to the throne of Philip IV. offered to his Majesty and his Court the spectacle of of an auto-da-fé of great interest.

This was the auto-da-fé of Marie de la Conception, a *beata* and hypocrite of much celebrity in the former reign. She had deluded great numbers of people, lay and clerical, by her supposed revelations, simulated piety and frequent ecstacies. Eventually it was discovered, she was not only a religious impostor but a person of flagitious morals. She was condemned as a sorceress and heretic, and figured at the auto-da-fé, attired in a San Benito, with a mitre on her head, and a gag in her mouth. She received 200 lashes, and was condemned to perpetual imprisonment. It was something saved to humanity that even this impostor was not burned.

In 1713, the mother Agueda, abbess of a Carmelite convent in Navarre, became celebrated for her supposed sanctity, and the numerous reported raptures and miracles associated with her name.

This *beata* practised the most singular deceptions; she eventually fell under the suspicion of sorcery and of grievous disorders of conduct of various kinds. She was seized by the Inquisition, ex-

* Llorentè, tom. iii. p. 43.

amined, tortured, and died avowing her impostures in the dungeons of the holy office at Logrogno.*

In 1613, a great number of women of the district of Ammou, in the vicinity of Aego, were seized with a convulsive malady, similar in many respects to that which prevailed in several convents of Germany in the preceding century. The outbreaks of this disease manifested themselves, sometimes by violent muscular contractions, and symptoms which were taken for those of epilepsy; at other times by convulsive outcries resembling the barking of dogs, whence it got the name of "*Mal de Laira.*" The phenomena of both forms of this convulsive hysterical disease were regarded as the results of diabolical influences and obsession.

At one time eighty women in a smaller community laboured under this disease, barking in the church like so many dogs, and rendering it impossible to remain at all collected or composed in prayer. Delancre, who believed firmly in the diabolical character of this and most other nervous disorders, and who has written an account of the former, observes, that fortunately it so happened when the women were in the paroxysms of this disease induced by sorcery, the patients were in the habit of crying out the names of those by whom they had been put into relations with demons; and this was a particular mercy of God to enable the

* Llorentè, tom. iv. p. 36.

authorities immediately to seize on the persons of those who were thus named, and thus vast numbers were brought to justice who ultimately confessed their crimes.*

During the attack the women of Ammou were like persons in raging madness. They flung themselves on the floor, crawled on the ground like reptiles, and beat their heads, trunks and members with frightful violence against the floor.

In epilepsy those who fall down and work in fits, which endure from half an hour to an hour, are usually unconscious of the violence of the convulsive throes, which are generally uniform. They are insensible to any blows or hurts they receive in the fit. But in the hysterical convulsive malady of the Laira, the afflicted perceived the sensations more or less poignant of their agonizing nervous crisis, and there existed always a relation between the violence of their pains and the force of the muscular contractions which manifested itself in all the organs of locomotion.

The monomania of sorcery prevailed epidemically in Normandy in 1676. The criminal proceedings instituted against the supposed sorcerers compromised upwards of 500 people of the villages in the vicinity of La Haye-Dupuis, and ended in the condemnation to death of seventeen persons, and the annulment of the sentence by Louis XIV.

The Parliament of Normandy furnished a striking

* Delancre, p. 368.

proof of its credulity in the memorable affair of Louviers; an absurd process to which folly and hallucination again gave rise in 1670, served to shew how this same Parliament continued faithful to the errors of its renowned jurisprudence.

A young man, named Ernouf, had made frequent complaints to the *Bailli* of La Haye-Dupuis, of being persecuted by sorcerers, of whose snares he was kept in constant dread. After this was publicly known, Ernouf often in the presence of strangers behaved in the most unreasonable and ridiculous manner; he made grimaces, involuntary contortions, he gave sudden and piercing cries. The Bailli, though thinking within himself whether the devil was the author of the sufferings of the lad, still hesitated to make any inquiry, when, on the 25th of February, 1669, he received an order from the *Procureur Fiscal* to enter upon a regular inquiry. The mother of Ernouf, who was the first called to give an account of the state of the sufferer, said, that for some time past her son appeared affected with a very grave nervous attack; that he often at intervals fell down on a sudden, and had violent convulsive fits; at the time of the crisis, he frequently made the most frightful cries, and struck himself in a violent manner; that he was in the habit, at certain times, to talk to himself, and then he would appear terrified by visions. Mons. Noel, professor of philosophy at Harcourt College, uncle of Ernouf, of whom they made inquiries as to his nephew's

state of health, immediately replied, that the unhappy condition of the lad's health was occasioned by an affection of the brain, and was not the result of any supernatural cause. He stated that learned physicians of the city, whose advice he had taken, had declared that his nephew was affected with epilepsy, subject to visions and hypochondria; that magicians and spirits had nothing to do with his infirmities: and that the friends of the young man had given him a trade to employ himself in manual labour, because they had perceived that the disorder with which he was afflicted rendered him unfit for literary pursuits.

Romy, a saddler, at Constance, the master of Ernouf, deposed, that the young man had fallen into epileptic attacks, that he had frequent visions, that he believed at times he had devils about his person, that he also complained of being importuned by evil spirits; that one night, at his mother's, he was going to hang himself, thinking he was instigated to do so by Satan; that it was a mere chance that they had arrived in time to save him from putting an end to himself.

The Bailli observed, that it was for the interest of the devil that the bewitched should destroy themselves, because they were afraid that they would denounce their associates to the authorities.

Ernouf, interrogated in his turn, made the following declaration: "I feel certain that I have been bewitched by sorcerers. A young man, named

Godefroy, had already been ordered to draw me into their corporation. Godefroy has begged of me, has entreated me, to consent to his wishes, not to refuse the offer he has made to conduct me to the sabbath. I irritated him by my refusal; he threatened me. One night this unfortunate entered my room, accompanied by a great black man, and made me suffer all the horrors of fear; the devil wanted to force me to prostrate myself before him. I heard the most frightful noise when the two phantoms, after having made me endure a thousand persecutions, vanished away.

"Upon another occasion," he said, "I was thrown upon the pavement, in the open street, in front of the cathedral of Constance, by an invisible power; my hat and my lantern were flung a distance from me; the inhabitants hastened to come to my help; again I lost all recollection in a house where I was taken, and I found it impossible for me to get back alone to my master's house.

"Some days after this accident, I perceived in the street a black man, whose aspect was most repulsive. This individual was armed with a long club; he tried to lead me in a wrong direction, and pursued me to the entrance of the house of Romy."*

The remainder of the deposition of this poor epileptic monomaniac is a tissue of the same delirious absurdities, which passed, however, with all the authorities, civil, legal, and ecclesiastical of the

* De la Folie, tom. ii. pp. 143, &c.

place, and with the Parliament of Rouen, for a grave accusation of sorcery and malign arts of witchcraft, against a number of unfortunate rustics, who generally obeyed the same extraordinary impulse which usually impelled multitudes of people in other places under similar accusations, to make confessions of guilt, and to exaggerate the charges brought against them.

The shrewd and erudite author of "The Question of Witchcraft debated," makes the following observations on the confession of witches:—

"But methinks I hear some men object and say with a great deal of vehemence and confidence: what need there be any dispute about these stories, since parties themselves have confessed their own witchcraft; and can there be anything clearer than self-confession?

"To this I answer, that the wisest men in the world may, by imprisonment and torture, be brought to confess anything, whether it be true or false; as many miserable creatures, confessing themselves witches, have had their confessions extorted from them by such cursed means. Besides, I do not doubt, but some poor, silly, melancholic old wretches, have really believed themselves witches, and to be guilty of those actions, which not only their foolish neighbours, but worshipful men in the world have charged them with. Nor is it to be wondered at by any one that considers the strange effects of melancholy, especially if it hath been heightened by

poverty, or want of good diet, by ignorance, solitariness, and old age. For that such kind of people take their very dreams to be real visions and truths, I am sure, not only by consequences drawn from their actions reported in books, but by the experience also of my own acquaintance. The truth is, want of knowledge in the art of physic makes men attribute unto spirits mere natural distempers. Nay, physicians themselves, who have excellently laboured in anatomy and chemistry, perhaps have added little or nothing to the diagnostic part of diseases, so happily begun by Hippocrates. Hence it is, that we are still in the dark as to the abstruser distempers of human bodies, especially such as arise from melancholy; which are of so many sorts, and have such wonderful effects, that whosoever should rightly describe them, and make them plainly manifest, he would discover unto us an unknown world, full of unheard of prodigious monsters."*

Neither Calmeil, nor any other author who has treated of epidemic hallucinations of this description, has given any satisfactory explanation of the singular fact which has been referred to, that when numbers of persons fell under suspicions of sorcery, an accusation being made against them by monomaniacs, evidently labouring under delusions connected with demonomania, those accused persons who had previously been in the possession of their senses be-

* The reader will bear in mind the date of this treatise, "The Question of Witchcraft debated, 1669," p. 65.

came in general as insane as their accusers, and made admissions of guilt which were obviously destitute of all foundation. The terror inspired by those accusations, and the sufferings they endured in confinement and under prosecution, are not adequate to the solution of this difficulty, where confessions might be considered the rule and not the exception.

In those outbreaks of moral mania, which prevail epidemically, may we not look to some particular electrical condition of the atmosphere, a state of disturbance of its elements, productive of influences unfavourable to the nervous system and the cerebral functions which predispose both to disease? We find the extensive blight of certain plants, and the pestilences which suddenly originate and run a rapid and destructive course, ascribed by medical men of great eminence, in various countries, to alterations in the constitution of the air; or to miasma of a morbific kind engendered in the soil, existing in a gaseous form in the air. These malignant influences affect the physical structure of plants and animal functions of human beings. May we not suppose that the mental faculties may be subject to noxious influences of an atmospheric kind? And to what deterioration in its constitution does it seem more reasonable to attribute influences which have a special action of disturbance on the spiritual part of our organization, than to that which is occasioned by electrical alterations connected with it.

There is a passage in a treatise, by Herbert Mayo, somewhat vaguely expressed, but still obviously pointing to an opinion entertained by him, that there were certain material arrangements of imponderable forces which influenced each other, and in the category, mental energy, and the electric fluid deserved a place.

"Mind, like electricity, is an imponderable force pervading the universe: and there happen to be known to us certain material arrangements, through which each may be influenced. We, cannot, indeed, pursue the analogy beyond this step. Consciousness and electricity have nothing further in common. Their further relations to the dissimilar material arrangements, through which they may be excited or disturbed, are subjects of totally distinct studies, and resol able into laws which have no affinity, and admit of no comparison."*

The judicial proceedings against the multitude of people, de la Haye-Dupuis, and several adjoining villages, accused of sorcery, occupied upwards of six months; sentence of death was passed on seventeen of the principal supposed demon-worshippers. Louis XIV., to his lasting honour, refused to sanction the condemnation, which the Parliament of Rouen confirmed. He commuted the sentence of death to that of perpetual banishment. But the Norman Parliament, true to its old sanguinary instincts, remonstrated strenuously and boldly against the

* "Letters on the Truths contained in Popular Superstitions," by Herbert Mayo, M.D. Frankfort, 8vo. 1849, p. 73.

commutation of punishment. In their remonstrance, addressed to the King, they cited a vast number of authorities, the Scriptures, the Fathers, the decisions of the Church, the Constitutions of Constantine and Theodosius, the Pagan laws of Greece and Rome, the law of the Twelve Tables, in proof of the legality and expediency of punishing the crime of sorcery with death. They furnished his Majesty with an abstract of all the capital condemnations that had taken place in France, from the times of Gregory of Tours to those of his Majesty. They prayed to be permitted to put the sentence in execution, which had been recently passed, and to continue the proceedings against others accused of the same crime. The King happily rejected the prayer of the Parliament: and thereby the lives of two priests were saved, and, no doubt, the lives of a great number besides those who were already condemned. From that time demonomania was no more punished in France with death; and about 1682, a complete reform was made (as Calmeil thinks) in the criminal code in reference to witchcraft.

In a work that exists in the Library of the Royal Dublin Society, entitled, Lettres Historiques, published at La Haye, in 1698, there is an account of eight youths, who had scarcely attained the age of fifteen or sixteen years, and a girl of twelve years of age, who were convicted of sorcery, and sentenced to be burnt at Burghausen, in Bavaria.

I think it right to state, I have not seen any reference to this apparently incredible atrocity in any work which treats of judicial proceedings in cases of witchcraft of that period. The following is the account literally copied from the Lettres Historique.

"Des lettres de Viennes, ecrites le 26 Mars, ont marqué, que dans un lieu de la Baviére, nommé Burghausen, ou devoit brûler, avant les fêtes de Paque huit jeunes garçons, qui avoient a peine atteint l'age de quinze à seize ans, accusez et convaincus de Magie, et une jeune fille de douze, qui avoit déja eu commerce huit fois avec le diable.

"J'avoue, Monsieur, que je fremis a de tels examples; mais c'est moins pour les prevenus, que pour les Juges. Il est étonnant que dans un siecle aussi éclairé, que le notre, on donne dans de semblable égaremens. Je ne voudrois pas nier absolument, qu'il n'y eut des sorciers cela paroit trop téméraire; puis que je doute, qu'on puisse démontrer, qu'il n'y en ait point: mais je suis très persuader, que de cent et deux cens examples, ils seront bien difficile de prouver à un homme raisonnable la verité d'un seul. On a remarqué il y a long tems, qu'il n'y a point de sorciers là ou l'on n'en punit point: au lieu que tout en fourmille là ou l'on, les brûle à tas et a pilles: grand préjugé en faveur de ceux, qui attribuent tous ces dérèglemens à une imagination blessée! J'ai oûi avouer dans un certain lieu, que je ne nommerai pas, que divers Seigneurs ne s'etoient

enrichis, qu'en intentant des procès de Sortilege à ceux de leurs sujets qui etoient à leur aise, qu'ils faisoient brûler inhumainement, en s'attribuant la confiscation de leurs biens. En ce pays là, ce n'etoit pas les plus pauvres, mais les plus accommodez de la paroisse, qui étoient suspects de sortilege. Je voudrois pour l'honneur de genre humain, que ceux qui faisoient cet aveu se fussent trompez."*

Montaigne in one of his Essays, about 1580, rendered a great service to humanity, by his observations on the popular belief in witchcraft, and the judicial proceedings instituted against persons accused of sorcery. Nothing better or more to the purpose has ever been written on the subject in so small a compass as those observations.

"The sorcerers of my locality," says Montaigne, "are placed in danger of their lives, by the opinions of each new author who comes forward to give shape and substance to their dreams. To accommodate the examples that holy Writ gives us of such things, most certain and irrefragable examples, and to tie them to our modern events, because we neither see the causes nor the means, will require another sort of wit than ours. It peradventure only appertains to that sole all-powerful testimony, to tell us, *this is, and that is, and not that other.* God ought to be believed, and certainly with very good reasons; but not one amongst us, for all

* Lettres Historiques. May 1698, pp. 535, 536. La Haye, 1698.

that, who is astonished at his own narration, (and he must of necessity be astonished, if he be not out of his wits) whether he employ it about other men's affairs, or against himself. I am heavy and dull of comprehension, given to seek out that which is likely to occur, and avoiding those ancient reproaches—'Majorem fidem homines adhibent eis quæ non intelligunt. Cupidine humani ingenii libertius obscura creduntur.' Men are most apt to believe what they least understand; and through the lust of human wit, obscure things are more easily credited. I see very well that men get angry, and that I am forbidden to doubt upon pain of execrable injuries. A new way of persuading people to believe is this. Through the mercy of God I am not to be made to believe in any particular fashion by blows and cuffs." . "To kill a man for belief, a clear and shining light is required; and our life is too real and essential to warrant these supernatural and fantastic accidents. As to drugs and poisons, I throw them out of my account, as being the worst sorts of homicide; yet even in this, it is said, that men are not always to insist upon the proper confessions of these people; for they have sometimes been known to accuse themselves of the murder of persons who have afterwards been found living and well. In these other extravagant accusations, I shall be apt to say, that it is sufficient, a man, whatever recommendation soever he may have, be believed in human things; but of what is

beyond his conception, and of supernatural effect, he ought then only to be believed, when authorized by a supernatural approbation. The privilege it has pleased Almighty God to give to some of our witnesses, ought not to be lightly communicated and made cheap. I have my ears battered with a thousand such tales as these. Three sow them such a day in the east, three the next day in the west; at such an hour, in such a place, and in such a habit; in earnest I should not believe myself. How much more natural and likely do I find it that two men should lie, than that one man in twelve hours time, should fly with the wind from east to west? How much more natural that our understanding should be carried from its place, by the volubility of our disordered minds than this, that one of us should be carried, by a strong spirit upon a broom-stick, flesh and bones as we are, up the shaft of a chimney? Let us not seek illusions from without and unknown, who are perpetually agitated with illusions domestic and our own."*

Montaigne goes on philosophizing with his customary ease, and in his usual vein of sagacity and sound common sense, on certain efforts made to abate his incredulity in witchcraft, by a sovereign prince in whose territories he happened to be travelling. A number of persons imprisoned on charges of witchcraft were brought before him by the

* Les Essais de Michel Seigneur de Montaigne, 4to. Paris, 1635, liv. iii. p. 803.

prince and subjected to his examination. "Amongst them was an old hag, a real witch in foulness and deformity, who had been long famous in that calling. I saw both *proofs* and *free confessions*, and I know not what *insensible mark* upon the miserable creature; I examined and talked with her, and the rest, as much and as long as I wished, and made the best and soundest observations I could, neither am I a man to suffer my judgment to be captivated by prepossession, and in the end, should in conscience sooner have prescribed them *hellebore* than hemlock. *Captisque res magis mentibus, quam conscelleratis similis visa. The thing was rather to be attributed to madness than malice.* Justice has correction proper for such maladies. As to the oppositions and arguments that honest men have made me, both there, and oft in other places, I have met with none that have convinced me, and that have not admitted a more likely solution than their conclusions. It is true indeed that the proofs and reasons that are founded upon experience and matter of fact, I do not go about to untie, neither have they any end; I often cut them as Alexander did the Gordion knot. After all it is the setting a man's conjectures at a very high price upon them, to cause a man to be roasted alive."*

* Les Essais, ib. liv. iii. p. 804.

CHAPTER XI.

MANIACAL EPIDEMICS.

LYCANTHROPY, OR WOLF TRANSFORMATION MANIA.

THE prevalence of particular forms of insanity at particular epochs has been noticed in various countries, and was first treated of scientifically in France by Docteur Calmeil, the very able and enlightened physician.* At different periods in the middle ages, we find large masses of people moved at the same time by the same exciting influence, seized by a nervous affection of an epidemic nature, that soon merged into a state of mental exaltation and terminated in monomania, if it were not timely checked.

These forms of mental insanity are very apt to assume a religious character. Those which assume that character are classed by Calmeil under the head of "Theomania," the opposite of this character under that of Demonomania, which he divides into two kinds—Demonolatria, devil worship, and Demonopathy, a belief in possession by evil spirits.

* De la folie sous le point de vue pathologique, philosophique et judiciare, &c. Par. L. F. Calmeil, Doct. en Med. de Paris. 8 Par. 2 tomes.

It would appear the Demonomania of those afflicted with Lycanthropy partook of the character both of Demonolatria and Demonopathy.

In maniacal epidemics we find numbers of people in a particular locality under some prevailing *dérèglement* of the imagination or the passions, or some dominant excitement, or exaggeration of dangers, or desires that overpower judgment. Each form of the disease will have its own prevailing symptoms and manifestations of the ruling passion which is connected with it. Persons labouring under Demonomania have been observed in frequent instances to have been afflicted with spasms, convulsions, hysteria or epilepsy; in some cases *opisthotonos* to such a degree that the head touched the back, fixing of the eyes and turning up of the ball so as to conceal the corners, perverted feelings of various kinds, hallucinations of all the senses, somnambulism, supposed power of reading the thoughts of those around them, insensibility to pain during the deep sleep of somnambulism, divination, free use of languages previously to the possession supposed to be unknown; and preternaturally augmented muscular strength. Evidence of demoniac possession has been mainly rested on the three last named phenomena.

We find this epidemic in one or other of its various forms associated with excessive mental activity, or a mysterious sense of impending judgments from a high or a strong conviction of self-

criminality of the deepest dye, or surrounding guilt of surpassing turpitude, or extravagant zeal in outward observances and religious enthusiasm, or strangely mistaken inferences from great facts and solemn annunciations of sacred truth, and subsequently simulated visions and ecstacies, or a consuming passion for penetrating into all that is abstruse in the holy Scriptures, or a blind unreasoning belief in witchcraft, sorcery, and demoniacal influence.

The Were or Wehr-wolff superstitious insanity, which prevailed so extensively in Germany in the middle ages, and under the name Lycanthropy, and generally throughout Europe, is of very ancient origin and lineage; so ancient as to be found mingled with the pagan sorceries, which abound in the writings of the ancient poets of Greece and Rome.

St. Augustine, in his work "De Civitate Dei," devotes a brief chapter to "*incredible transformations of men*," which Varro believes in, which chapter is here given in its integrity.

"In support of this opinion," says St. Augustine, "Varro relates other things not less incredible of the celebrated sorceress Circè, who transformed the companions of Ulysses into beasts, and of the Arcadians, who, happening to swim over a certain lake, were converted into wolves and lived with other like beasts in the deserts of that region. But if they eat not human flesh, at the end of nine years

when passing the same lake they were restored to their former shape of men. He has also made mention of one Demænetes, who having tasted of the sacrifice which the Arcadians were accustomed to offer to their god Lyceus, having immolated a child to him, was transformed into a wolf, and the tenth year was restored to human shape, exercised pugilistic feats, and subsequently obtained success in the Olympic games. "Nor does he think that Pan and Jupiter were called Lycæi, in the Arcadian history, for any other reason, but because they used to transform men into wolves. For they considered this impossible to any but a divine power. A wolf is called in Greek *Lupos*, and from that, their name Lycæus is derived. And he says, that the Roman festivals, the Luperci, had their origin from the mysteries of these people."*

"Hoc Varro ut astruat, commemorat alia non minus incredibilia de magna illa famosissima Circe, quæ socios quoque Ulyssis mutauit in bestias, et de Arcadibus, qui sorte ducti transnatabant quoddam stagnum, atque ibi convertebantur in lupos, et cum similibus feris per illius regionis deserta viuebant. Si verò carne non vescerentur humana: rursus post novem annos eodem renato stagno reformabantur in homines. Denique etiam nominatim expressit quemdam Demænetum quum gustasset de sacrificio quod Arcades immolato puero deo suo Lycæo facere solerent, in lupum fuisse mutatum, et anno

* De Incredibilis Transformationis quod Varro crediderit.

decimo in figuram propriam restitutum, ad pugilatus sese exercuisse, et Olympiaco vicisse certamine. Nec idem propter illud arbitratur ab historico Arcadiæ tale nomen affictum Pani Lycæo et Ioui Lycæo, nisi propter hanc in lupos hominum mutationem λυκὸς dicitur, unde λυκαίου nomen apparet inflexum. Romanos etiam Lupercos ex illorum mysteriorum veluti semine dicit exhortos." *

Old Burton, in his great arsenal of recondite lore, has an abundant stock of centos and quaint sentences on the subject of man-wolf transformations, muddled together in admirable disorder.

"*Lycanthropia*, or wolf-madness, when men run howling about graves and fields in the night, and will not be persuaded but that they are wolves, or some such beasts—Aetius† and Paulus‡ call it a kind of *melancholy*; but I should rather refer it to *madness*, as most do. Some doubt whether there be any such disease. Donat. ab Altomari§ saith that he saw two of them in his time: Wierus‖ of one at Padua, that would not believe but that he was a wolf. He hath another instance of a Spaniard who thought himself a bear. Forestus¶ confirms as much by many examples; one, amongst the rest, of which he was an eye-witness, in Holland—a poor husbandman that always hunted about graves and

* De Civitate Dei, lib. xviii. cap. 17, tom. ii. p. 369.

† Lib. vi. cap. 11. ‡ Lib. iii. cap. 16.

§ Cap. ix. Art. med. ‖ De præstig. Dæmonum. lib. iii. cap. 21.

¶ Observat. lib. x. de morbis cerebri, cap. 15.

kept in churchyards, of a pale, black, ugly, and fearful look. Such, belike, or little better, were king Prœtus'* daughters, that thought themselves kine; and Nebuchadnezzar, as some interpreters hold, was only troubled with this kind of madness. This disease perhaps gave occasion to that bold assertion of Pliny,† *some men were turned into wolves in his time, and from wolves to men again;* and to that fable of Pausanias, of a man who was ten years a wolf, and afterwards turned to his former shape: to Ovid's‡ tale of Lycaon, &c. . . . This malady, saith Avicenna, troubleth men most in February, and is now a days frequent in Bohemia and Hungary, according to Heurnius. § They lie hid, most part, all day, and go abroad in the night, barking, howling, at graves and deserts; *they have usually hollow eyes, scabbed legs, very dry and pale,* saith Altomarus."

The Metamorphoses of Ovid, and Apuleius, and of Lucian, have surely lent a good deal of the mechanism of their fabulous lore to the legends of some Christian writers. William of Malmesbury relates in his History (lib. iv. ch. 22, et lib. vi. c. 12), that "in the time of Petrus Damianus there were two old women lived on the road leading to Rome, whom Augustine designates '*stabularia,*' that is, persons entertaining travellers for payment (for '*stabulum*'

* Hippocrates, lib. de insaniâ.

† Lib. viii. cap. 22. Homines interdum lupos fieri; et contra.

‡ Met. lib. i. § Cap. de Man.

properly means a public inn, hospititium venale et publicum). These women, sojourning in a small hut, were both addicted to sorcery, and when a traveller came there alone as a guest, they changed him into a horse, a pig, or an ass, and for a certain price they sold the same to dealers. On a certain day a young man requiring entertainment, with feigned greetings they received him, and changed him into an ass, making much money of him, who by a miracle was thus destined for the use of travellers. . . . He did not, however, lose his understanding, but his speech. Hence the old women derived great advantage from the use made of him; which being known, a neighbour bought the ass at a large price; he was cautioned, however, by the women, that he should keep the ass from going to water. For a long time he was kept without water, but at length, the keeper having relaxed in care, the ass betook himself to a lake, and there rolling for some time he (the young man) was restored to his proper form." The rest of the story is rather prolix as it is narrated, suffice it to say, the family of the young man complained to the authorities. The then Pope, Leo, being informed of the affair, and having taken due cognizance of it, was in some doubt on the subject, but was confirmed in the opinion of the actual sorcery of the case by Petrus Damianus, a most learned man, who brought forward the example of Simon Magus, who had impressed his own image on Faustinian.* William of Malmesbury

* Gul. Malmes. Hist. ap. op. Wieri, p. 190.

assuredly had in his remembrance the 18th book of St. Augustine's "De Civitate Dei," when he composed this narrative.

The following notice of this supposed transformation of human beings into the shapes of wolves and other animals, from that work of St. Augustine, I give both in the English by the Rev. Alban Butler, and in the original Latin :—

"For if we say that we do not credit those things, no blame attaches to those who assert either that they have heard of such things as certainties, or even witnessed them. So I being in Italy, I heard related similar things having happened, in a certain part of that region, where it was said, that certain women, who kept places of entertainment (for man and beast) 'stabularias mulieres," and being imbued with those bad arts 'of sorcery,' were wont to give in cheese *what things* they chose or could, to passengers, when the men were converted into beasts, and were made to carry burdens. And having thus been made use of, they were restored to their former shape. And during this transformation, their minds felt nothing of the beast, they retained their reason, and the senses proper to man. But whether these things are false, or so rare that one refuses to credit them, still undoubtedly, and with great firmness we ought to believe that God all-powerful, can do whatever he likes, whether for the punishment of the wicked, or for the succour and favour of those who serve him, and that it is not

for devils to do anything by the mere strength of their nature, which is of an angelic kind, though they are malevolent, unless He whose judgments are ever secret, never unjust, permit them."

"Si enim dixerimus ea non essè credenda non desunt etiam nunc qui ejusmodi quædam vel certissima audisse, vel etiam expertos se esse asseuerunt nam et nos quum essemus in Italia, audiebam talia de quadam regione illarum partium: ubi stabularias mulieres imbutas his malis artibus, in caseo, dare solere dicebant, quibus vellent seu possent viatoribus, unde in jumenta ilicò verteréntur, et necessaria quæque portarent, póstque perfuncta opera iterum ad se redirent: nec tamen in eis mentem fieri bestialem, sed rationalem humanámque servari sicut Apuleius in libris quos Asini aurei titulo, inscripsit, sibi ipsi accidisse, ut accepto veneno humano animo permanne asinus fieret aut judicavit, aut finxit. Hæc vel falsa sunt, vel tam inusitata, ut meritò non credantur, firmissime tamen credendum est omnipotentem Deum omnia posse facere quæ voluerit, sive vindicando, sive præstando, nec dæmones aliquid operari secundum naturæ suæ potentiam, quia et ipsa angelica creatura est, licet proprio sit vitio maligna, nisi quod ille permiserit, cujus judicia occulta sunt multa, injustitia nulla."*

Olaus Magnus revels in accounts of men converted into wolves.

He states that on a certain Christmas night, a

* Augustinus, De Civitate Dei, lib. xviii. cap. 17.

troop of the Wehr-wolves congregated in a certain district, and caused the greatest terror and detriment to the inhabitants. They broke into houses in the dead of night, descended into beer cellars, guzzled and emptied the casks into the middle of the cellar, and played the most brutal antics. And it has been constantly affirmed that among this multitude of Wehr-wolves which ravage the Northern regions, there are many magnates of this world, and men of the first nobility.

"*De ferocia hominum per incantamenta in lupos conversorum.*"

"In festo nativitatis Christi sub noctem, statuto in loco, quem inter se determinatum, habent, tanta luporum ex hominibus diversis, in locis habitantibus, conversorum copia congregatur, quæ postea eadem nocte, mira ferocia quum in genus humanum tum in cetera animalia, quæ færam naturam non habent, sævit ut majus detrimentum ab his istius regionis inhabitatores quam unquam a veris et naturalibus lupis accipiant. Nam uti compertum habitur ædificia hominum in sylvis existentium, mira cum atrocitate oppugnant, ipsasque fores effringere conantur, quo tam homines quam reliquia animantia ibidem manentia consumant. Cellaria cervisiarum ingrediuntur, ac illic aliquot cervisiæ aut medonis tonnas epotant ipsa que nasa vacua in medio cellari unum super aliud elevando collocant in quo à genuinis aut veris lupis discrepant. . . . Denique constanter asseritur inter hanc multitudinem etiam istius terræ

magnates, atque ex prima mobilitate veros, versari."*

In Olaus Magnus's work on the Northern Nations, book iii. chap. 16, there is a curious account of magic practices, particularly in Lapland and Finland, where incantations are performed by a process of striking the image of a brazen frog or serpent, with many blows on an anvil, and other operations, whereby a deep sleep like death, and a state of ecstasy, is produced. He states also that by force of their incantations, they can see the most remote things as if they were present; and that they can perceive what either their friends or enemies are doing, at any time, though such persons may be at the distance of five hundred or a thousand miles from them. These and other extraordinary phenomena are evidently connected with Animal Magnetism, or ascribable to some influence producing catalepsy, somnambulism, trance, and ecstasy.

Martin, in his work on the religion of the Gauls, makes the following reference to the prevalence of Lycanthropy.

"Rien de plus ordinaire dans l'antiquite que les changements des hommes en loups par la voye des enchantements. Herodote avoit appris des Scythes et des Grecs, que certaines gens en Scythie etoient tous les ans transformes en loups pour un tems; c'est un maladie qu'on appelle lycanthropie, causée

* Olaus Magnus. Gentium Septentrionalium Historiæ Breviarum. Lib. xviii. cap. 32.

par une melancholie qui fait croire qu'on est loup et qui fait chercher les forets."*

The following passage in Herodotus is that, in all probability, which is referred to by Martin.

"These men attempt to be magicians: and the Scythians, with the Grecians who inhabit in Scythia, say, that all the Neurians, once every year, are transformed into wolves for a few days, and then resume their former shape. But I am not persuaded to believe this, though they affirm their assertion with oaths."†

So early as the sixth century, we find Lycanthropy prevalent in an epidemic form in Italy. At later periods, we have large details of the ravages of this loathsome sickness of the imagination, in the North of Europe, in the pages of Olaus Magnus, and from Norway and Sweden it seems to have invaded Germany, France, and the British Islands. Ireland had its men wolves as well as other countries. Camden tells us of a certain race of people in Ossory, who were transformed into wolves every seven years.

"Whereas some of the Irish, and such as would be thought worthy of credit, doe affirme that certaine men in this tract are yeerly turned into wolves: surely I suppose it a meere fable: unlesse haply through that malicious humour of predominant un-

* La religion des Gaulois, par le R. P. Dom . . . (Jacques Martin) vol. 2, liv. iv. p. 60.

† Herodotus. Melpom. c. iv. p. 249.

kind melancholie, they be possessed with the malady that the physicians call *Lycanthropia*, which raiseth and engendereth such like phantasies as that they imagine themselves transformed into wolves"* every seven years.

Camden makes one of the Ossorian wolves tell his own story.

"De quodam hominum genere sumus Ossyriensium, unde quolibet septennio per imprecationem sancti cujusdam natalis scilicet Abbatis . . . . formam enim humanam prorsus exeuntes induunt Lupinam."

In the Annals of Ireland, under date 1341, Camden gives an account of the barking disease prevailing in the county of Leicester:

"*Item*, this wonderous prodigie following, and such as in our age had not been heard of before, happened in the county of Leicester, where a certain waifaring man, as he travelled in the king's highway found a paire of gloves fit, as he thought, for his own turne, which, as he drew upon his hands, forthwith instead of a man's voice and speech, he kept a strange and mervaillous barking like unto a dogge: and from that present, the elder folke and full growen, yea, and women too throughout the same country barked like big dogges, but the children and little ones waughed as small whelpes. The plague continued with some, eighteen days, with others, a whole moneth, and with some for two yeares. Yea

* Camden's Britannia, translated into English, by Dr. Holland. Lond. 1610, p. 82.

this foresaid contagious maladie entered also into the neighbouring shires, and forced the people in like maner to barke."*

The celebrated Dr. Willis gives an account of his attendance on a family living in the country, in which five children laboured under a convulsive malady, accompanied with very singular symptoms: all the patients barked like dogs.

"In the family which I visited, there were four girls ill: I heard their cries a long time before I arrived at the village, and when I entered the house, I remarked, that although their heads were agitated with great violence, there appeared no convulsion of the face, except that they yawned frequently. Their pulses were good, but towards the close of the disease became a little feeble. Their cries did not so much resemble the sound made by dogs when barking, as that made when they howl and are complaining. They were more frequent also than those of dogs, and in fact occurred at every respiration. The youngest of these girls was but six years old, the eldest but sixteen. Sometimes intervals occurred, in which they had the perfect use of their senses: the seizure of the disease was sudden, and after howling till they were exhausted, they fell as in epilepsy."

There are forms of mania connected with perverted religious ideas which cannot be called epidemics, but

* Camden's Britannia, Holland's trans. Annals, p. 188.

rather endemics, found prevalent in a particular community or establishment.

Rollin and Hecquet make mention of a nervous disease of this kind, attacking the whole community of a convent near Paris. The members were attacked every day about the same hour with an unconquerable propensity, to imitate the mewing of cats. After much trouble had been given to the religious, and great scandal being occasioned by this malady, the nerves of the sufferers had a remedy applied to them, which was quite effectual; they were menaced with the interposition of the authorities, and with having a file of soldiers posted at the gate of the convent, to enter on the first occasion of the repetition of the mysterious noises; and it is said the effect of the intimation had such an effect on the nervous system of the community, that the disease ceased all at once.

In that work of an execrable Judge, aptly entitled, "Discours Execrable Des Sorciers;" par Henri Boguet, Grand Juge au Comtè de Bourgogne (Rouen, 16mo. 1606). A chapter is devoted to the "Sorcellerie des Lycanthropes ou Loups Garoux," wherein he details the particulars of the trials in 1597, of six individuals charged with sorcery, Lycanthropy, frequenting the devil's sabbaths, the use of diabolical unguents, transformations into wolves, and killing children for their orgies, and causing many people, and a great deal of cattle, to perish by their incantations. Boguet being judge, it is hardly ne-

cessary to say, no escape from his justice was to be expected: tortures and terrors suggested confessions, extorted admissions of guilt, condemnations and burnings necessarily followed, wherever this inhuman ermined-monster presided in his official capacity, who, in its certainty, justified the proverb of his country—"Que l'homme est loup à l'homme." Boguet—Grand Juge de Bourgogne—puts aside, however, the terrors of his office at the end of this chapter on Loups garoux. He becomes lamb-like, meek, and charitable. He says, "Je ne me pleigne de ceux qu' excusent les sorciers et rejettent tout ce quils font sur Satan, comme s'els en estoyent entierement innocens. Car il se recognoit de ce que j'ai dit, que ce sont les sorciers qui causent la mort et tuent eux memes. . . . Et plus quand il n'y auraoit autre chose, *que le damnable intention* q'uils ont, pourquoi ne les jugerons nous pas coupable de mort, veu que la loi punit la volontè meme en choses qui ne sont pas trop graves, encore que les effets ne s'en soyent point ensuivis. J'adjouste que quoique ils n'ont jamais telle intention, qu'au preallable, ils n'ayent renoncè a Dieu, et au ciel.*

There is one short chapter of Boguet's work, the fortieth, headed; "Les Sorcieres ne peuvent jetter de larmes en la presence de la Juge." The "Grand Juge" begins by referring to a learned author, Bodinus, who relates the confession of a woman, to this

* Boguet. Discours Execrable, &c. ch. 47, p. 258.

effect, that sorcerers could only shed three tears with the right eye. "The doctors," says Boguet, "esteem it one of the strongest presumptions that exist as a test in crimes of sorcery. I wish to report what has come to my knowledge. All the sorcerers whom I have examined *in quality of Judge*, have never shed tears in my presence: or, indeed, if they have shed them, it has been so parsimoniously—*si maigrement*, that no notice was taken of them.

"I say this with regard to those who seemed to weep, but I doubt if their tears were not feigned. I am at least well assured that those tears were wrung from them with the greatest efforts: 'arrachès avec grandissime force.' The which was shewn by the efforts which the accused made to weep, *and by the small number of tears which they shed.* But if I spoke to them in private, they shed tears and wept with all possible vehemence. The same happened when they confessed. They then shewed themselves more lively and joyous than they had previously been, as if they had been delivered from a great burden.

"Besides, it is probable that sorcerers do not shed tears, since tears serve principally to penitents to wash away and cleanse their sins. . . . Nevertheless, if you demand of sorcerers why they do not shed tears, they answer you that it is impossible for them to weep, because they have the heart too much oppressed – *ils ont le cœur trop estreint et serres*—

at seeing themselves disgraced by the imputation of a crime so detestable as that of sorcery."*

And then this man-devil in judicial authority, gives instructions to other judges how they should act in such cases, in a high tone of dignity: he who could wring from human misery tears, "arrachès avec grandissime force;" and with all the coldness and calm composure that he thought becoming his high functions, who could measure the scanty drops that came from channels dried up with terror and the anguish of cruel torments, from the fountain no longer gushing of the heart, "trop estreint et serrès," who could frame a judicial test of tears, and find an evidence of guilt in the small number which a wretched prisoner could shed before the judge who was about to consign him to the stake, dares to talk of justice and religion. This was the model judge who was to teach his junior brothers of the Bench how they were to act "en faicts de Sorcellerie."

Of the six prisoners referred to, who were tried and condemned to the flames in 1597, Boguet finds it necessary to devote a chapter to one of them, a woman named Clauda Gaillard, to leave no doubt of the evidence of her guilt in the public mind. This chapter I place before my readers without the omission of a single word.

"1. Common report was against her.

"2. No one ever saw her shed a single tear,

* Boguet, ib. chap. xl. p. 229.

whatever effort might be made to cause her to shed tears.

" 3. She made use of execrable imprecations ordinarily in her responses.

" 4. She condemned herself as well as the woman Baillu before she was accused: inasmuch as when she was demanded, among other things, if Humbert Yinchon was married, she replied in the affirmative, and that his wife was named Maria Perrier: and at the same instant, of her own accord, added, that she had never done any harm to this woman, but, on the contrary, it was that woman who had done harm to her health by breathing in her face.

" 5. She was convicted of guilt, being confronted by one of the prisoners, Aranthon: for being brought along with another woman into a chamber where the officers were, Aranthon recognized her, and (addressing her) strenuously maintained, that she had come to the Sabbath (of the devil) in the village of Coiries with others she had named.

" Moreover, she varied often in her answers.

" Finally, she was accused of several acts of sorcery, and also of having caused Madame Perrier to fall sick, and Claude Perrier, by breathing in their faces. Item, to have caused the deaths of six goats of Peter Perrier, and caused a mare of his to fall sick, and afterwards to have cured that mare, and to have moreover transformed herself into a wolf. It is however quite true that the witnesses who deposed

to these acts were for the most part single witnesses, but as they were of accord as to the crime of sorcery, they so far confirmed it, and although even they were all either relations or connexions of Clauda Gaillard."*

I have given in the preceding literal translation from the French original, the whole of Boguet's "Raisons et Fondements de la Sentence Condemnatoire de Clauda Gaillard," which forms chap. li. of his "Discours Execrable de Sorcellerie," with the view of affording a fair specimen of the jurisprudence of the 16th century in matters of sorcery: and for the purpose of obviating the necessity of entering further into extensive details on a subject which cannot be read without feelings of pain and humiliation. Of the more remarkable cases of "loups garoux," we find mention made in the "Discours Execrable," of the following:—

In 1521, three loups garoux were burned at Poligni.

In 1571, Trois Echelles, a sorcerer and loup garou, was burned in the Place de Greve, in Paris.

In 1573, Gilles Garnier, a sorcerer and loup garou, was burned at Dole.

In 1578, Jacques Rollet, a sorcerer and loup garou, was burned at Paris, in the Place de Greve.

And yet, in 1579, we are told the number of sorcerers who underwent transformations into wolves was vastly increased. For the next twenty years

* Boguet, ib. chap. li. p. 317, &c.

the authorities were more active than ever, the *bourreaux* could not complain of want of business. But, in 1589, an unheard of occurrence took place in France, fourteen persons charged with sorcery and wolf transformations, and tried, not by Boguet, on that charge, were acquitted.

But though checked in one place the crusades against loups garoux went on in the other parts of France with undiminished ardour. A vast number were burned, and Boguet claims the merit of the principal portion of those judicial murders.

In 1670, twenty-five monomaniacs were burned at Eifdalem, in Sweden, charged with sorcery. The unfortunate Swedes of the village of Mohra, who were put to death as sorcerers, like the victims of Labourd, were similarly wrought on, and subdued into confessions of guilt. They were subjected to the same malign influences of disease, terrors, sufferings, and torments, at the hands of Royal Commissaries, who were sent into the province to establish a tribunal with the clergy and local judges, for the trial of those demonolatres. Bekker, in "Le Monde Enchanté," gives an account of those proceedings. The Swedish sorcerers generally made confessions to the following effect:—

"We invoke a devil named Anteper, who assembles us in a place called Blocula. The spirit nearly always appears to us for the first time under the form of a man in a grey dress, with a red beard, blue stockings, red shoes, a pointed hat, ornamented

with bunches of ribbons. We perform long voyages by night through the air; we are then borne by goats, sheep, by devils transformed into beasts of burden; we steal many children, which we bring to Blocula. The first time we are admitted to the sabbath we renounce the true God, and we give our body and our soul to the devil. A peculiar kind of baptism is administered to us; and we make vows and pronounce abominable words. Many things forbidden take place at Blocula. The sorcerers fight, dance, deliver themselves to the pleasures of voluptuousness and luxury. The devil plays the harp, and desires the company of wizards and witches. . . . Sometimes Anteper lets himself die, in order to re-appear by the effect of a prompt resurrection: we learn how to milk cows at a distance from them, and to kill men without touching them. We are made a present of a quadruped and a white bird, which we make use of to take game. Every thing that falls under the claws of the bird belongs to us; the devil claims for his portion whatever the quadruped succeeds in securing. It happens, also, that the soul is transported alone to Blocula, while the body remains as if deprived of life in the house of the person possessed."*

Rude and uncivilized as these poor Swedish villagers were, it is evident their ears had been familiarized with the legendary lore of witchcraft, as it was long known in Germany, Flanders, France, and

* Bekker, Le Monde Enchantè.

Switzerland. But it is extremely curious to observe how the northern ideas of costume, the chase, the boisterous revels at their assemblages, the dance, and accompanying scenes of strife crept into the old recitals of witchcraft in other countries, and gave a national Swedish character to the picture of the devil and his place of revelry in this world.

Sennertus throws much light on the subject of this monomania in Germany, without seeming conscious of the importance of the fact related by him. He states, he was informed, on good authority, that a woman had been arrested on suspicion of being a wehr-wolf, and the magistrates promised to spare her life if she confessed how she effected her transformations, which she consented to do. She was allowed to send to her house for a certain pot of ointment. On its being brought to her she anointed her head, neck, and shoulders, and her members with it, and immediately after having done so she fell down in a deep swoon, which lasted for three hours. And on awaking, and being asked where she had been in the interval, she replied, she had been transformed into a wolf, and had a coursing chase, in which she had killed a cow and a sheep. And then comes the marvellous addition to the account of the deep swoon and the dream of the terrified and half-crazed culprit, namely, that the magistrates sent immediately, to ascertain the truth of the woman's statement, to the place indicated by her as the scene of the alleged slaughter of the

sheep and the cow, and the magistrates found the precise damage she described had actually been done. Sennertus has no doubt on his mind of the diabolical influence exerted in this case, but he supposes the demon had acted by suggestion, as in the case of Eve, and when the evil impression had been made on the woman's imagination, did the mischief himself, and made her dream that she had done it.

Puceros, in his work, "De Divinatione" (page 170), treating the popular belief in those transformations as fabulous and absurd, yet expresses his astonishment at the accounts given him by trustworthy persons *of the confessions of several persons* who had been apprehended in Livonia and the adjacent countries, *and put to the torture by the authorities.*

The confessions had a kind of consistency in them; the persons so examined by torture, generally agreed that they had entered into compact with Satan; that they were in the habit of assembling twelve days after Christmas, being led by a young man who was lame of one foot; and urged on by another person of large stature, armed with a whip of iron wire and chains twisted together, who severely scourged the loiterers, and inflicted wounds which left weals and scars on the persons thus driven to the place of rendezvous.

When they came to the appointed place of assemblage, after various rites and ceremonies, they were

all transformed into wolves. They then commenced their courses in the forests and adjoining places of pasture; fell on flocks of sheep, but had no power to hurt the shepherds, and for twelve days revelled like beasts of prey, scampering over the plains, scattering flocks, and feeding on vast numbers of animals that had been worried to death by them.

Guy Patin's ironical admission of the necessity of conformity to prevailing *bêtises* was realized by the wehr-wolves-men of Livonia: "Il faut hurler avec les loupes et badiner avec les autres bêtes."

CHAPTER XII.

THE FLAGELLATION MANIA.

THIRTEENTH AND FOURTEENTH CENTURIES.

THE most remarkable Epidemics of fanaticism that have afflicted humanity at various epochs, have been preceded by signal pestilences or famines, or convulsions of nature, that have been attended with great national calamities.

Professor Hecker, one of the most learned German physicians and medical writers of his country, in his very remarkable work, "The Epidemics of the Middle Ages," gives an account of three remarkable epidemics, which had a most important bearing on the history of the human race. The first of these was *the Black Death, or Glandular Plague, or Great Mortality,* which in the 14th century swept away at least one quarter of the population of the old world within a period of four years, and raged in England with such destructive violence, that "the annals of contemporaries report that throughout the land only a tenth part of the inhabitants remained alive."*

* "The Epidemics of the Middle Ages," from the German of J. F. C. Hecker, M.D., Professor at Frederick William's University at Berlin. Translated and published by the Sydenham Society, Jan. 1844, p. 7.

But, elsewhere, (at page 27) Hecker says this estimate is evidently greatly exaggerated.* Throughout Europe the crops failed, cattle died, the insect tribe multiplied marvellously, famine set in, the plague burst forth: the same dire calamities occurred in France, Germany, Silesia, Poland, Denmark, and much farther north. In nearly all these countries great convulsions of nature had taken place.

"In the inmost depths of the globe that impulse was given in the year 1333, which in uninterrupted succession for six and twenty years shook the surface of the earth, even to the western shores of Europe."†

In 1347, the first appearance of the plague in Cyprus, Sicily, Marseilles, and some Italian seaports, clearly indicated the route of the pestilence from the Levant to Europe.

"In all Germany, according to a probable calculation," we are told, by Hecker, "there seems to have died *only* 1,244,434 inhabitants; this country however, was more spared than others. Italy, on the contrary, was more severely visited. It is said to have lost half its inhabitants."‡ In Sardinia and Corsica scarcely a third of the population remained alive. Venice lost three-fourths of its inhabitants by this plague.

* "In Yarmouth," says Hecker, "7052 died. In London, in one burying ground alone, there were interred upwards of 50,000 corpses arranged in layers in large pits."

† Ibid. p. 18. ‡ Ib. 27.

The disease first appeared in China in 1347; for upwards of thirteen years previously that vast empire was ravaged by mighty revolutions in the earth, parching droughts, terrible inundations, earthquakes, and frequent tempests. "From China to the Atlantic the foundations of the earth were shaken throughout Asia and Europe; the atmosphere was in commotion, and endangered by its baneful influence both vegetable and animal life."*

Famine supervened, cattle of all kinds perished of the murrain, and various universally prevailing diseases; then the plague made its appearance, everywhere similar in its leading characteristics, and of the same type as the present plague of the Levant, except that it was accompanied generally with violent inflammation of the lungs.

In January, 1348, "an unexampled earthquake shook Greece and Italy, and whole villages were swallowed up in the latter country. The whole period during which the black plague raged with destructive violence in Europe was, with the exception of Russia, from the year 1347 to 1350."†

But various pestilences, "common plagues without inflammation of the lungs, such as in former times, and in the following centuries, were excited by the matter of contagion everywhere existing," returned from 1350 to 1383. In fact, during the 14th century Europe was ravaged by five or six great plagues.

* Ibid. p. 13. † Ibid. p. 29.

Of the number of lives lost in Europe, by "The Black Plague," from 1347 to 1351, the period of its last ravages in Russia, Hecker states that the most probable estimate is, a fourth-part of the inhabitants were carried off. "Now, if Europe," he observes, "contain 210,000,000 inhabitants, the population, not to take a higher estimate, which might easily be justified, amounted to at least 105,000,000 in the 16th century. It may therefore be assumed, without exaggeration, that Europe lost 25,000,000 of its inhabitants." . . .,

Historians seem to have made small account of the greatest destruction of human life on record. Even in England, where its ravages were enormous, Hume disposes of the subject in a single paragraph. Yet, in London alone, 100,000 persons are said to to have perished in this plague. Hume reduces the number to half that estimate, yet he refers in a note, to a statement of Stowe, where it is asserted, that in one churchyard alone set apart for the burial of the poor, 50,000 were buried: "But a sudden damp," says Hume, "was thrown over this festivity and triumph of the Court of England, by a destructive pestilence which invaded that kingdom, as well as the rest of Europe; and is computed to have swept away near a third of the inhabitants in every country which it attacked. It was probably more fatal in great cities than in the country; and above 50,000 souls are said to have perished by it in London

* Epidemics of the Middle Ages, p. 30.

alone.* This malady first discovered itself in the north of Asia, was spread over all that country, made its progress from one end of Europe to the other, and sensibly depopulated every state through which it passed. So grievous a calamity, more than the pacific disposition of the princes, served to maintain and prolong the truce between France and England."†

There is an observation of Hecker on the results of this great pestilence worthy of notice: "We for our parts are convinced that in the history of the world, 'The Black Death' (of the 14th century) is one of the most important events which have prepared the way for the present state of Europe. He who studies the human mind with attention, and forms a deliberate judgment on the intellectual powers which set people and states in motion, may perhaps find proofs of this assertion in the following observation: at that time the advancement of the hierarchy was in most countries extraordinary: for the Church acquired treasures and large properties in land: even to a greater extent than after the Crusades, but experience has demonstrated that such a state of things is ruinous to the people, and causes

* "There were buried 50,000 bodies in one churchyard, which Sir Walter Manny had bought for the use of the poor. The same author says that there died above 50,000 persons of the plague in Norwich, which is quite incredible."—*Stowe's Survey*, p. 478.

† Hume's History of England, 16mo. 1811, vol. iii. Edw. III. p. 77.

them to retrograde, as was evinced on this occasion."* Hecker is certainly mistaken in imagining that the treasures and large properties acquired by the clergy and the Church during this terrible epidemic, were productive of consequences that were ruinous to the people. It produced a state of things that proved ultimately ruinous to religion, to the true interests and spiritual influence of the enriched clergy and aggrandized Church. The treasures and large properties which were wrung, either from the terrors or the repentance of the conscience-stricken possessors, came not to the clergy or the Church from the people, they came from the rich marauding feudal chiefs and lords of the soil, from the heads of plundering, rapacious factions, who had made themselves masters of the different territories throughout Europe, by the sword, held them by that tenure, and ground the unfortunate serfs and villains of their territorial possessions to the dust by their oppression and exaction.

In the 14th century, there was a singular confirmation of the opinion of Dr. Babington: "That in all severe epidemics, from the time of Thucydides to the present day, a false suspicion has been entertained by the vulgar, that the springs or provisions have been poisoned or the air infected, by some supposed enemies of the common weal." Thousands of "innocent lives were sacrificed under this barbarous notion."

* The Epidemics of the Middle Ages, p. 31.

The persecution of the Jews, which originated at Chillon in 1348, was attributable to the same cause. The pestilence of the "Black Death," had no sooner broken out in Switzerland, than the Jews were accused of poisoning the wells, and legal proceedings of the utmost rigour were instituted against them. The savage persecution extended all over Switzerland and Germany. "In Mayence alone, 12,000 Jews are said to have been put to a cruel death."*

The Flagellants had entered that place in August, 1348, and had suffered some offence at the hands of the Jews, by whom some of the disciplinarians and their protectors were slain. The inhabitants espoused the quarrel of the Flagellants, and raised so terrible a persecution against the Jews, that great numbers of the latter consumed themselves and their families by setting fire to their dwellings. Pope Clement IV. to his honour, endeavoured to stay the barbarous persecution. He issued two bulls denouncing the persecutors, and pleading the innocence of the persecuted and pillaged Jewish people.

In the reign of Edward II. in 1327, Hume states the Jews of England were the victims of a similar panic in the public mind:

"Among other wild fancies of the age, it was imagined, that the persons affected with leprosy, a disease at that time very common, particularly from bad diet, had conspired with the Saracens to poison all the springs and fountains; and men being glad

* Hecker. "The Black Death," p. 44.

of any pretence to get rid of those who were a burthen to them, many of those unhappy people were burnt alive on this chimerical imputation. Several Jews also were punished in their persons, and their goods were confiscated on the same account."*

Bearing in mind the events that took place in St. Petersburgh and Madrid, during the cholera of 1831, it is singular to read in Thucydides the following words on the subject of the great Plague which shewed itself in the Piræus during the Peloponnesian war, and next visited Athens and swept away thousands of the Athenians:—"The contagion shewed itself first in the Piræus, which occasioned a report that the Peloponnesians had caused poison to be thrown into the wells, for as yet there were no fountains there."†

Dr. Lefevre, in his observations on the Cholera, in St. Petersburgh, 1831 (p. 9), says, "The disease was attributed by the people to poison, and nothing could be more authentic than the reports that were spread of miscreants taken in the act of putting poisonous drugs into the food and drink."

But what have these details of pestilence to do with the subject of this work?

It will be seen they have a good deal to do with several of those "Egarements de l'Esprit Humain"

* Hume's History of England, 16mo. 1811. Edward II. vol. 2, p. 410.

† Thucydides. Translated by Dr. Smith, Dean of Chester. Valpy, 1831. Vol. i. book 2, p. 177.

which are referred to in it. The moral results of great pestilences, famines, and convulsions of the earth, are often perceptible in the most remarkable outbreaks of fanaticism, mental hallucination, illusions, epidemic mania in all its forms; desecrating what is most high and holy, perverting what is true, natural, or salutary, and spreading the contagion of inordinate enthusiasm and false zeal, and maddening excitement far and wide.

THE FLAGELLANTS.

"While all countries," says Hecker, "were filled with lamentations and woe, there first arose in Hungary, and afterwards in Germany, the Brotherhood of the Flagellants, called also the Brotherhood of the Cross, or Cross Bearers, who took upon themselves the repentance of the people for the sins they had committed, and offered prayers and supplications for the averting of this plague.

"This order consisted chiefly of persons of the lowest class, who were either actuated by sincere contrition, or who joyfully availed themselves of this pretext for idleness, and were hurried along with the tide of distracting frenzy. But as these brotherhoods gained in repute, and were welcomed by the people with veneration and enthusiasm, many nobles and ecclesiastics ranged themselves under their standard, and their bands were not unfrequently augmented by children, honourable women and nuns, so powerfully were minds of the most

opposite temperaments, enslaved by this infatuation. They marched through the cities in well organized processions, with leaders and singers; their heads covered as far as their eyes, their looks fixed on the ground, accompanied by every token of the deepest contrition and mourning. They were robed in sombre garments, with red crosses on the breast, back, and cap, and bore triple scourges tied in three or four knots, in which points of iron were fixed. Tapers, and magnificent banners of velvet and cloth of gold were carried before them; wherever they made their appearance they were welcomed by the ringing of the bells, to listen to their hymns, and to witness their penance with devotion and tears.

"In the year 1349 two hundred Flagellants first entered Strasburg, where they were received with great joy and hospitality, and lodged by the citizens. Above a thousand joined the Brotherhood, *which now assumed the appearance of a wandering tribe, and separated into two bodies for the purpose of journeying to the north and to the south.*"*

The influence of this fanaticism was so great and formidable to the secular and also to the spiritual power, that at length a check was put to it; not before the excitement it created was like that which about 250 years before had summoned the inhabitants of the principal towns and cities of Europe into the deserts of Syria and Palestine.

* The Epidemics of the Middle Ages, &c., p. 654.

It is remarkable, that in nearly all the epidemic mental disorders connected with fanatical ideas, psalm-singing by the multitude formed a large part of the religious observances. This was the case with respect to the Flagellants as well as the Piagnoni of Florence, the dancing maniacs of Germany, the Lollards of the same country, the Convulsionaries of Paris, the Anabaptists of Holland and the Netherlands, and the Revivalists of North America. The Flagellants on entering a town or city were usually announced by the ringing of the church bells; "they first visited the churchyards, and then the churches, where they sung hymns in which nothing was to be found that did not breathe a truly pious and christian sentiment."* Schetting (di secta Flagell.), and the Abbe Boileau (Hist. des Flagellans) bear testimony to the same fact.

The German Flagellants, when their disease assumed a migratory pilgrimaging character, marked by strong symptoms of insubordination and pride, engendering contempt for all authority, secular and spiritual, were condemned by the Court of Rome, and the petty Princes of Italy and Germany, and banished from their States.

The scourging epidemic then abated, but did not die out altogether; for as usual with all epidemic manias following in the wake of widely prevailing national calamities, the scourging mania appeared

* Lenfans, Hist. de Con. de Const., tom. i. p. 81.

in Germany again after great commotions and sufferings of the people.*

Hecker has not very clearly stated the fact that the Society of Flagellants in Germany, in the middle of the 14th century, was only a revived institution, the origin of which dated back upwards of a century previously to their appearance in Germany in 1348.

In the "Chronicon Ursitius Basiliensis" of the monk St. Justin, of Padua, published in 1585, we have the most detailed account that is to be found of the first appearance of the Flagellants as a sect in Italy in 1260. With the exception of the fanaticism which exhibited itself in the laceration of their bodies, there is nothing to find fault with in their practices or religious observances, at least as they are narrated by St. Justin.

"The Flagellants," says Boileau, "were almost extinct, as a sect, when in 1349 they again made made their appearance in great force, as St. Justin affirms, in 1585."

Boileau cites another chronicle for an account of the fanaticism of flagellation which followed the pestilence of the middle of the 14th century. "The pestilence," he tells us, "having abated by degrees towards the beginning of 1349, that is to say, eighty-nine years after the origin of the sect of Flagellants; in Germany they began again to be migratory, and about two hundred of them came from Spires under the leadership of one principal ruler

* Lenfans, Hist. de Con. de Const., tom. i. p. 63.

and two other magistrates. On the first occasion of their public appearance at Spires, they made a circle in a broad place before the principal monastery, and in the middle of it they despoiled themselves of their habiliments, "habentes in modum braccæ Canŭsinas in femores ac talos prætentas;" they then went round the circular space one after another, and then in the form of a crucifix prostrated themselves, and commenced the practice of self-flagellation with scourges, having each four knobs with iron points."* The remainder of this account it is unnecessary to proceed with; from other sources the main particulars of the proceedings of this second visitation of the Flagellant fanaticism have been already given.

The author of the work "Des Egaremens de l'Esprit Humain," tells us: "Voluntary flagellations (of an expiatory nature) became very frequent in the 11th and 12th century; and, finally, these ideas produced, at the end of the 13th century (1260), the sect of Flagellants, of which the monk St. Justin of Padua relates the origin."†

The author describes them as "Penitens fanatiques et atrabilaires qui se fouettoient impitoyablement et qui attribuoient à la flagellation plus de vertu qu'aux sacremens pour effacer les pecher."

Their origin, we are told, was at a period of signal

* Such instruments of flagellation, similarly armed with sharp iron points, as are now in use in one of the new orders emanating from the Puseyites.

† Hist. des Egar. del l'Esprit Humain, tom. ii. p. 62.

depravity, when all Italy was a prey to rapacity and misery, steeped in crime and vice of all kinds. Then it was this extraordinary superstition crept into being among the people of Perugia and Rome, and thence among all the people of Italy.

"The fear of the last judgment had so forcibly seized on men's imaginations, that nobles, adventurers of every kind, placed themselves naked (se mettent tous nues) in the ranks of those who marched along the streets in the procession, each with a scourge in his hand, and flogged himself on the shoulders till the blood came; each uttered doleful cries and groans; and at first these examples of penitence had good results; they were productive of many reconciliations and restitutions."*

It should be borne in mind this moral epidemic disease began to prevail after Italy had been long torn by the contending factions of rapacious feudal chiefs, Guelphs and Ghibelines, and of contending rival claimants to spiritual thrones and dignities.

It seems certain that so early as the 11th century, self-flagellation in some religious communities, in penitential seasons, was practised in their churches.

The Penitentials of the Greek church, which were remarkable for their severity, had patrons in the Latin church, who carried their ideas of the efficacy of corporal punishment to an extent of rigour in the 10th and 11th centuries, which tended greatly to encourage fanaticism. Courses of mortification were prolonged

* Des Egaremens de l'Esprit Humain, tom. ii. p. 63.

from forty days to seven years. Compensations were allowed by money for remission of some courses of self-inflicted punishments that were found impracticable; and in the excess of fanaticism, the doctrine of the Latin church was abused by some mistaken enthusiasts in the cloisters, so far as to frame a code of the equivalents of sins and stripes, estimating a year's penance at 3000 lashes. Peter Damianus, in an account of St. Dominic Loricatus, states, that the zeal and perseverance of this holy man were such, that in six days he could discharge a debt of an entire century of 300,000 stripes. And his example, we are told, was followed by many penitents of both sexes; and some disciplinarians were even found to expiate on their own backs the sins of others.*

This Dominicus Loricatus, a monk of St. Croce D'Avellano, is mentioned by Damianus as the master and model of this species of mortification of the flesh.

But we must travel beyond the times of the monk of Avellano, and even beyond the precincts of Christianity itself for the origin of voluntary flagellation.

The principal source of authentic information concerning the Flagellants, is the Latin work of the Abbè Boileau.†

The Arcadians, Boileau observes, in the time of King Evander, voluntarily scourged themselves in

* See Fleury, Hist. Eccles., tom. i. pp. 96, 104.

† "Historia Flagellantium: de Recto et Perverso usu Flagrorum apud Christianos," in 12mo. Paris, 1700.

honour of the god Pan. Petronius Arbiter alludes to the practice, and not as a sacred rite, at page 503 of the Amsterdam edition of his works, 1669.

In the time of St. Augustine there were certain heretics who scourged themselves voluntarily. And in various religious communities, from his time, the abbots and abbesses had the power of punishing the members of their communities by scourging.*

Tertullian observes, in the book "Ad Martyres," that it was a most celebrated festival with the Lacedemonians, which they called, "*Dies Flagellationis*," when certain youths scourged themselves voluntarily before the altar of Diana, in the presence of their parents, friends, and neighbours, who were present encouraging them, "Hinc prima flagrorum spontaneorum labes."†

But Herodotus claims the origin of voluntary scourging for the Egyptians (Euterpè, lib. ii. cap. 41). He states, before the sacrifice was offered up by the priests, self-scourging was always practised. Apuleius narrates the same of the spontaneous flagellations of the worshippers of the Syrian goddess.

The opinions of learned doctors, Boileau says, are various and discrepant on the subject of the use and abuse of the *discipline*, as the flagellation was designated, which was spontaneously self-inflicted, in a penitential spirit. The design of his work, he states, is not to impugn pious and holy means of bringing the body into subjection to the spirit, for instance, by

* Hist. Flagell. pp. 104, 5, 6. † Ibid. p. 71.

the emaciation of the flesh, but to reprehend perverse practices that are either barbarous or pernicious, perilous to health or unedifying, such as those which are attended with voluntary laceration of the flesh, and wounds self-inflicted. In the lives of the anchorets of the Thebaid, and of Syria and Palestine, some things are related that we are to read with veneration, and are not called on to receive in the way of imitation, "non imitatione sed veneratione consequar."

In the Old Testament no authority is found for this practice of self-scourging, and the only passage that is brought forward in the New Testament in support of it, in the author's opinion, does not admit of the interpretation given to it, by the advocates of the *discipline*.

The 14th verse of the 72nd Psalm (of the Douay Bible), "And I have been scourged all the days, and my chastisement hath been in the mornings;" and the 18th verse of the 37th Psalm, "For I am ready for scourges, and my sorrow is continually before me;" Boileau says cannot be interpreted in any other sense than as expressions significant of tribulations and divine judgments. The passage above referred to in the New Testament in St. Paul's 1st Epistle to the Corinthians, ch. xix. 27. "Sed prĕmo et castigo corpus meum, et in servitutem redigo:" "But I chasten my body and bring it into subjection:" Boileau produces corresponding passages from a vast number of ancient commentators on the

Scriptures and Fathers of the Church, to shew that the true signification of it is the bringing down of the body by means of a contrite spirit and of humiliation; as Clemens Alexandrinus, Lib. Stromatum, p. 469, has done, commenting on the words "Ipsum corpus meum, prĕmo et in servitutem redigo."*

The opinions of an enlightened ecclesiastic like Boileau, on the subject of the abuse of the discipline in religious communities both of women and of men, and in his own times as well as at former periods, are of importance, for the same abuse exists in some communities of this kind, even at the present day. Those opinions are best given in the original Latin words of the author:—

"Eam ob rem libenter spero ab æquis lectoribus perspectum iri faciliter, ex hujusce libri lectione, penitùs ignotas et inauditas fuisse vernantibus nascentis Ecclesiæ diebus, quas vocant *disciplinas* seû spontaneas flagellationes, quibus pœnitentes vibicibus tergora sua conscribillant, aut propriâ manu nates inhonestis scuticis funiculis nodosis, aut virgis betulæis seû vimineis cruentant. Neque enim dubitandum est vehementer flagrare, ejusmodi flagellationes apud recentiorum Monialium aut Monachorum societates, easque præsertim, quæ sub specie reformationis, antiquas regularum leges, novis constitutionum accessionibus cumularunt. Eò devolvitur integrum hujusce lucubrationis consilium. Sed antequam tantulum opus exegerim, duo subjicienda

* Historia Flagellantium, p. 38.

sunt, adeò certa, ut de iis nemini homini dubium subolere possit. 1. Scilicet, hodiernus flagellationum usus, pœnitentes seipsos diverberare scuticis aut virgis, aut nodosis funiculis, vel spontè, vel ab alienâ manu ejusmodi corii vibificationes recipere:

"2. Istius modi flagellationes super scapulas, et humeros, aut super lumbares musculos, quos glutei medici vocant, effieri. Primam sursùm, alteram vero *deorsùm disciplinam* nuncupant. Hanc verò novam, et apud veteres Christianos inauditam defendo, multisque de causis veræ pietati ac pudori incommodare propugno, fœtumque idololatriæ, manu superstitionis obstetricante eductum; posseque, et debere, tanquam perversum usum et errorem, relegari et relinqui; per manus hominum imperitorum sub specie pietatis et perfectissimæ pœnitentiæ in republicâ Christianâ traditum et intromissum."*

St. John Climacus, who flourished in the 6th century, makes mention of monks who led a solitary life, and were in the habit of voluntarily scourging themselves, as some interpret his words. But Boileau maintains the scourging was not self-inflicted or voluntary, of which St. Climacus speaks.

The rule of St. Benedict (Art 70) forbids the infliction of flagellation on monks, except by permission of superiors, but there is no reference to self-scourging.

The rule of Columbanus, which, according to Ordericus Vitalis, was an extension of that of St. Benedict, was to the same effect.

* Historia Flagellantium. Parisiis, 1700. pp. 5, 6, 7, 8.

The practice of voluntary flagellation, says Boileau, in religious communities, did not exist before the year 1046 or 1056, in which time Petrus Damianus flourished: nor was it then regarded without repugnance by men of great eminence in religion.

Baronius in his Annals says, "At this time also, and if not by means of the same author, namely, Peter Damianus, who was certainly a propagator of this practice, there was introduced into the church that laudable custom—ille laudabilis usus—of the faithful, for the sake of penance, inflicting stripes on oneself, after the example of the blessed Dominicus Loricatus, hermit, as Peter Damianus indeed testifies in his letter to the Countess Blanca."

But this commendable custom of self-flagellation in the Abbé Boileau's opinion, was neither laudable, general, or authorized.

That it was practised long before by anchorets, there can be, however, no doubt; notwithstanding Boileau's objections to the evidence on which they rest.

Theodoretus, an eminent prelate, who figured in the Council of Calcedonia, wrote a history of thirty ascetics, anchorets of Eastern solitudes and wildernesses, wherein marvellous accounts are given of mortifications of the flesh, torturings of all the senses, that might be better characterized as slow suicidal processes, than as religious practices of rational human beings, whose bodies as well as souls were the work of God, and that Being a God of mercy.

In the life of St. Pandulf, a Benedictine monk

and abbot, who lived in the 8th century, we are told the saint lacerated his body with the discipline of the scourge. But this life was written two centuries after the saint's death, when self-scourging was beginning to come into vogue.

John à Bosco, the learned Irish monk of the order of the Celestines, in the book published in 1605, entitled "Bibliotheca Floriacensis," in the life of St. Genulf, (cap. 26) who flourished at the close of the 10th century, states that "in the time of this saint the scourge or the discipline," as it was called, came into use among penitents. But Boileau objects to those flagellations, which John à Bosco refers to, being interpreted—"disciplinæ spontaneæ, propria manu infilctæ."

St. Peter Damianus died in 1072, in his 66th year. He lived long enough to give a spiritual eclat to the practice of self-inflicted voluntary flagellation, by holding forth the laceration of the body practised by St. Dominic Loricatus, and the holy prelate Rodolphus bishop of Eugubinus, as practices of piety and patterns for imitation.

From the time of Damianus the practice merged into a conventual self-imposed obligation. The fanaticism of flagellation extended beyond convents, into episcopal and imperial palaces.

The Abbè Boileau asks if any thing more inconceivable or insensate ever entered into the mind of man than this fascination of self-torture?

"Omnium ineptiarum haud scio an ulla ineptior

sit ista flagellatione. Sed quid tam insulsum? ut incogitabile sit humano cerebro, semel novitatis illecebris fascinatio."*

There are depths, however, in the insensate, and almost inconceivable immanity of fanaticism still more profound than those to which Boileau has referred, but they are connected with fanaticism by one common barbarous idea, belief in the efficacy of a practice which is inhuman and unnatural.

In the history of the madness of fanaticism, there is nothing more terrible than the accounts we meet with of barbarous usages, and of one especially, the most barbarous of all of them, founded on belief that the blood of human beings was efficacious for the cure of certain loathsome diseases.

In the 28th book of Pliny's Natural History we find that this idea prevailed among the Egyptians, speaking of leprosy, he says: "A peculiar malady is this, and natural to the Egyptians; and when any of their kings fell into it, woe betide their subjects and poor people, for then the tubs and bathing vessels, wherein the kings sat in the bath, were filled with men's blood for their cure."

Christians, if history speak true, when leprosy prevailed in Europe, believed in the efficacy of blood baths.

One of the most beautiful poems of the 13th century, written by Hartman Von Der Ane, gives proof of the popular notions of the period.

* Boileau, Hist. Flagell. p. 268.

The Jesuit father, Ribadeneira, one of the early companions of Loyola, in his Lives of the Saints, written in Spanish (and translated into English, fol. ed. Dub. 1763) ascribes the conversion of Constantine to a circumstance connected with this sanguinary fanaticism. He states that during the wars of Constantine with his competitors for the Empire, St. Sylvester, who then filled the chair of St. Peter, was obliged to retire for refuge, for some time, to a cave in the mountain of Soractè, about twenty miles from Rome. While the Pope was hidden there, the Emperor Constantine, who was then established in the Empire, was afflicted with "an incurable leprosy," with which disease also his daughter Constantia had been afflicted, but the latter had been cured through the intercession of St. Agnes.

The disease, as Pliny states, was so common in his time that even kings were attacked with it, and it was believed by them, adds Ribadeneira, that by bathing in men's blood they might be cured. This notion seems then to have originated in a religious opinion.

"The same heathenish priests," says Ribadaneira, "counselled the Emperor Constantine, making more account of the health of one man than of the destruction of so many innocents, who by their deaths were to give him life. The Emperor was resolved to bathe himself in the blood of three thousand infants; and those children he had commanded should be sought out in divers places to make that cruel sacrifice, and they having been brought, and the

cruel butchers, who were to kill them, being ready, and their sorrowful and weeping mothers tearing their hair, and beating their breasts, and filling the heavens with their cries and clamours, the pious Emperor having compassion of the innocent age of the little children, and consideration for the tender feelings of their mothers would not buy his health at so dear a rate. And so he resolved to remain sick, or to seek out other medicines for the cure of his leprosy; and commanded the children to be restored to their mothers, and a good sum of money to be given them, and to be sent contented and joyful to their homes. That very night St. Peter and St. Paul appeared to Constantine, and having thanked him for the mercy he had shewed towards the mothers and their children, they advised him to *send to Mount Soracte for the Bishop of the Christians, who was called Silvester, who would teach him another bath,* by which he should be better cured, both of the leprosy of his body and also of the leprosy of his soul, than that which the priests of the idols had counselled him to make use of."*

The French historian, Gaguin, states that Louis XI. (of infamous memory) fancied his approaching death could be averted by drinking the blood of young children. "But his disorder," says Gaguin, "still grew upon him, and in this year, 1443, imploring high and low the aid of God and man, he

* Ribadeneira. Lives of the Saints. Translated by W. P. fol. Dub. 1763. p. 391.

commanded that they should bring to Tours the sacred unction, which it was said was sent from heaven to anoint King Clovis in his city of Rheims. Besides this, he had from the holy chapel at Paris the rod of the high priest Aaron, which many affirm to have been divinely given to Charlemagne. But there was nothing that could put off the appointed hour. Every day he grew worse and worse, and the medicines profited him nothing, though of a strange character, for he vehemently hoped to recover by the human blood which he drank and swallowed from certain children. But he died at Tours."

There is abundant evidence in history how the rage for flagellation caused exaggerated and preposterous notions of the merits of the practice as an expiatory sacrifice to prevail, and even made ministers of religion the inflictors of the castigation, in cases where perhaps the penitents could not be trusted with the execution of the punishment on their own persons.

In 1174, Henry II. of England, says Boileau, in performance of the penance enjoined for the murder of St. Thomas of Canterbury, was scourged with rods by the monks of the church of Canterbury.*

* Matthew of Paris, in Historia Anglicanâ, 1174, p. 90, ed. Paris, thus narrates the scourging of Henry II.:—"Sed quoniam interfectores martyris gloriosi ex verbis ejus non satis circumspectè prolatis, occasionem sumpserant Archiepiscopum perimendi ab episcopis qui tunc presentes erant absolutionem petiit, carnem-

With respect to rules for female communities supposed to bear on this subject, the most ancient reference of all, is to be found in St. Augustine (Epist. 109), in these words: "Disciplinam labens habeat, metuens imponat." But this discipline, says Boileau, is not of flagellation but regulation of life and manners and emendation of them: as in the rule of St. Pacomius (art. 32), "Unusquisque præpositorum docebit in domo suo quomodo debeant cum, disciplina et mansuetudine comedere."*

The members of several of the monastic orders in the middle ages, it is quite clear from the concurrent testimony of many eminent ecclesiastical writers of the Roman Catholic church, and among the latter we may enumerate St. Ignatius Loyola,† exaggerated the merits, and abused the discipline recommended or regulated by the *Penitentials*.

Ignatius of Loyola wrote and argued, in his discourses with his followers, against these excesses: "Corporis castigatio immoderata esse non debet, nec indiscreta, in vigiliis et abstinentiis, et aliis pœnitentiis externis, ac laboribus, quæ et nocumentum afferre, et magna bona impedire solent."‡

que suam nudam disciplinæ virgarum supponens, à singulis viris religiosis quorum multitudo magna convenerat, ictus ternos vel qui nos accepit."

* Ibid. p. 170.

† *Vide* "Histoire de St. Ignace de Loyola," etc., par le Rev. Pere Daniel Bartoli, Jesuite, traduit de l'Italien. Brux. 1844. 2 tomes, 8vo.

‡ Bartoli, "Hist. St. Ig. de Loyola," tom. ii. p. 39.

"It was the ordinary maxim of Ignatius (says his biographer, Bartoli,) that it was the interior of men it was necessary to mould, and that we should think the mortification of our own will more important than the power of restoring a dead man to life."

The enlightened Pope Clement VI. (raised to the Papal throne in 1332, deceased in 1352,) condemned this sect, and the bishops of Germany confirming the Apostolic brief, had forbidden the Flagellants to form associations in their sees, and thus a second time the sect of scourgers dwindled away and disappeared for another century, and towards the commencement of the 15th century, in 1414, became resuscitated in Misnia, by a certain Conrad, who renewed the legend of a divine revelation for the institution of the Flagellants.

Theodoric Urie, in his history of the Council of Constance, a contemporary of the Flagellant chief Conrad, distinctly states that the order by letters for the institution of the Flagellants had been brought to Rome from Jerusalem, and had been found there on an altar dedicated to St. Peter, where it had been placed by holy angels.

On the occasion of this new outbreak of the disorder in Germany, Conrad and his followers claimed a divine mission for the practice of public flagellation. When the rabble crowded to the novel spectacle that was offered to them, the Flagellants after having scourged themselves, "read a document to the multi-

Ibid., p. 873

tude, which they said contained the substance of a written message which an angel had brought from heaven and deposited on the altar of a church, wherein it was declared that our Lord had been irritated by the depravity of the age, and that at the intercession of the blessed Virgin for mercy on His people, our Lord had replied, if sinners desired to obtain mercy it was necessary they should flee their country, and scourge themselves during *thirty-four days*, in memory of the time of His sojourn on earth :* and thus this sect made many proselytes."†

Conrad moreover promulgated a new doctrine, namely, that the Flagellants being established, God had been pleased to abrogate the Papacy, and that there was no salvation except by means of the new baptism of blood through the instrumentality of scourging. And then we are told, as a natural result, of an effective remedy for an epidemic mania of this description :—" L' Inquisiteur fit arreter ces nouveaux Flagellans et l'on en brula plus de quatre vingt onze; si les Flagellans etoient devenus plus forts que l'Inquisiteur ils auront fait bruler l'Inquisiteur et tous ceux qui n'auroient pas voulu se flageller."‡

But though the combustion was not in any respect beneficial to the disordered brains of so many human beings, we are consoled by the assurance, that the Inquisitors' safety was secured by it; for if the Flagel-

* This is a mistake, the time mentioned by the writers cited by L'Enfant is thirty-three days and a half.

† Ib. Tome ii. p. 64. ‡ Ib. p. 64.

lants had not been consumed by the Inquisitors, the Inquisitors would have been burned by the Flagellants. In either case it would appear poor humanity was on the horns of a dilemma.

In the beginning of 1414 a contemporary author, Gobelin Persona, relates that the Inquisitors, at the solicitation of the Margraves of Misnia, caused several of this sect to be burned at Sangerhusen in Thuringia. Another writer, an eye-witness of the facts he relates, states, (but without mentioning dates) that Schoneveldt, Inquisitor of the Faith in Germany, made a grand inquiry into the charges against this sect, and caused ninety-one to be burned at Sangerhusen, and a great number in other places. He states that the patriarch of this sect in Germany was *Conrad Smith*, who had been dead some years before the execution of his followers at Sangerhusen. Fortunate Conrad Smith to have died so timely!

This heresiarch rejected all the sacraments, and substituted for them the divinely revealed obligation of flagellation. He pretended also that the Prophet Enoch and himself were one and the same person; but here Conrad is said to have borrowed an idea from Begard, another divine messenger who had preceded him, who announced himself to his disciples as the Prophet Elias; but had the misfortune to fall into the hands of unbelievers in his mission, and was burned at Erfurt for the improvement of his theological opinions, about the middle of the fourteenth century.

But this clumsy machinery of the stake and the gibbet for the promotion of spiritual and moral ends failed, as it ever did, and ever will fail, to effect such objects and to secure a permanent triumph for them.

The fire which reduces an heresiarch to ashes has a vivifying influence on his sect. A man's body can be consumed in less than a couple of hours; his opinions may be found unscathed and even unscorched several centuries after the burning of the mere husk of mind and soul.

The unburned Flagellants of Germany lay "perdus" for a long time. Their opinions, insensate as they were, outlived them. Another century passed away and we find Confraternities of this sect in Germany again, in Spain and Portugal, who abandoned their founder's claim to a Divine special mission, but who still practised publicly the devotion of self-scourging, and passed in great processions through various towns and cities.

St. Vincent of Ferrer was suspected at the Council of Constance of being too favourable to the Flagellants; Gerson remonstrated with the saint for not openly and publicly denouncing them, and St. Vincent wrote to the Council that he submitted in all things to the Council, and he had exhorted his people to do the same. During the sitting of the Council, Gerson published a treatise against the Flagellants,* wherein he maintains that their practices

* The treatise of Gerson against the Flagellants, is to be found in the first volume of his works, p. 637. Ed. Par. 1606.

are contrary to the Gospel, because the latter is a law of charity and not a burden; because the New law is as much opposed as the Old law to the sanguinary superstitions of idolaters who made incisions in their flesh; because the blood of Christ being sufficient to save from all sin, no other effusion of blood was necessary: because this public scourging was contrary to modesty in women, to gravity in men, and caused children to lose the respect which they owed to their parents.

He did not assert that there was an express prohibition of Flagellation in the law of Christ, or that it was not permissible, provided it was done by order of superiors, that it was moderate, without scandal, without ostentation, without effusion of blood. He opposed the practice, however, on the ground that it had been always condemned by the Church; and, moreover, that it gave scandal to the Jews and Mahommedans, by causing the Christian religion to be considered sanguinary and cruel; and being of human invention, and neither in accordance with the commandments of God or the ordinances of the Church, and the occasion of grave disorders in the Church and in the State, it ought to be denounced alike by the spiritual and civil authorities, but that mild means of repression were to be preferred to violent measures. "Immo (Gersonius inquit) sicut non licet hominem seipsum propriâ autoritate mutilare vel castrare, nisi pro sanitate totius corporis consequendâ; sic nec licet, ut videtur, quod à seipso quis sanguinem violenter ejiciat, nisi causa

medicinæ corporalis: aliaquin simili ratione posset se homo cauterisare per ferrum ignitum; quod adhuc nemo possuit nec concessit, nisi fortè idololatræ vel falsi Christiani, quales reperiuntur in Indiâ qui se putant debere baptisari per ignem."*

Gerson's treatise against the Flagellants was impugned by a learned Jesuit, "*Doctissimus Jesuita Gretzerus vir flagellationibus valdè propitius.*" He was potent, too, in arguments and reasoning in confuting Gerson. We are favoured with a specimen of his reasoning powers. The learned Jesuit proved by this irrefragable argument, that it was lawful for a man to lacerate his own flesh by flagellation, "because the father can flog his son if he offends, and the husband his wife:" "quia pater verberare potest filium si quid delinquat et maritus uxorem."†

There is a very remarkable passage from the lost work of Seneca on Superstitions, and the comment on it of St. Augustine is no less remarkable, furnishing, as it seems to me, the best argument in the fewest words against the superstitious use of the discipline, and the barbarity of a practice of Pagan origin.

It is surprising that a passage of this kind, and such a comment on it as that of St. Augustine, should have escaped the notice of Boileau and others who opposed the Flagellant fanaticism.

St. Augustine, in his great work, "De Civitate Dei," in the chapter which treats "of Seneca's bold-

* Historia Flagellantium. Parisiis, 1700, p. 308.

† Boileau, ibid. p. 303.

ness in reprehending the Civil Theology more vehemently than Varro reproved the fabulous," speaks in high terms of commendation of a book which Seneca wrote against "Superstitions," and he quotes the following passage from it as a proof of Seneca's "surprising freedom:"

"One priest mutilates himself, another wounds his arms with some sharp instruments, taking such means as these to render the gods propitious to them. But if the gods be pleased with service of this sort, they should not be worshipped by any means. So great is the madness of their disturbed minds, that they think the gods are appeased in such a manner as even men would not be. Tyrants of the foulest cruelty mentioned even in fables, have lacerated the members of men, but they never ordered any to maim themselves. . . . . But when these men scar themselves in the temples: supplicating the gods by their wounds and blood, if one had leisure to observe what they do, and what they suffer, he would find them so unbecoming honourable men, so unworthy free men, and unlike even men, that none would doubt they were mad."

So far for Seneca. St. Augustine hereupon observes:

"Seneca then relates what things are done in the Capitol, and boldly attacks them all: *but who could believe that any man, unless he were mad, would be capable of such things.*"*

* De Civitate Dei, lib. 18, cap. 19.

This fanaticism gradually declined in the 15th century. In the 16th it is rarely heard of, except as a conventual observance, and on certain festivals as a penitential public exhibition, when the Flagellants were paraded in procession, in some parts of Italy, in Spain and Portugal.

The learned Benedictine, Pere Mabillon (who visited Italy in 1689) witnessed a scourging procession of the Flagellants at Turin on a Good Friday, and gives the following account of it: "Ils commencerent à se fouetter dans l'Eglise Cathedrale, en attendant son Altesse Royale ils se fouettoient assez lentement, ce que ne dura pas une demi heure, mais d'abord que ce prince parut, ils firent tomber une grèle de coups sur leurs epaules deja dechirées et alors la procession sortit de l'Eglise. Ce seroit une institution pieuse, si ces gens se fustigeoient ainsi pour une douleur sincere de leur pèchès et dans l'intention d'en faire une penitence publique et non pour donner une espece de scandale."*

Colmenar, in his "Annales† d'Espagne et de Por-

* Musæum Italicum, p. 80.

† The first appearance of this work was under the title of "Les Delices de L'Espagne et de Portugal." There was an edition published in Leyden, in 1715, under the title of Annales d'Espagne et Portugal, evidently pirated; and another, under the same title, in 1741, at Amsterdam, in 4 vols. 4to. the one from which I quote, tome 4, p. 8. Feller, in his "Dictionnaire Biographique," with his customary ignorance of a vast number of the books he mentions, speaks of the Delices d'Espagne et Portugal and the Annales above cited as two different and distinct works.

tugal," thus describes the procession of Holy Friday at Madrid, about the middle of the 17th century, (he died in 1651 :)

"At this procession are seen all the penitents or the disciplinists of the city, who flock to it from every quarter. They wear a high cap covered with linen cloth, of the height of three feet, and of a sugar-loaf form, from which hangs a stripe of cloth which falls in front and covers their faces. There are some who take this exercise (of the discipline) from a true motive of piety, but there are others who practise it only to please their mistresses, and the gallantry of it is of a new kind, one unknown to other nations. These good disciplinarians wear gloves, and white shoes, a shirt, of which the sleeves are tied with ribbons, and they have a ribbon attached to their cap, or to their scourge, of the colour which most pleases their mistresses. They scourge themselves by rule and on a fixed and settled plan, with a whip of cords to which are attached at the end little balls of wax with pieces of pointed glass stuck in it. He who flogs himself with most vigour and address is considered the most courageous. Lorsque ils rencontrent quelque dame bien faite, ils savent se fouetter si adroitement, qu'ils font ruisseler leur sang jusques sur elle et c'est une honneur dont elle ne manque pas de remercier le galant Disciplinant. Et quand ils se trouvent devant, la maison de leur maitresse, c'est alors qu'ils redoublent les coups avec plus de furie, et qu'ils dechirent le dos et les epaules.

La Dame qui les voit de son balcon, et qui sait qu'ils le font a son intention, leur en fait bon grè dans son cœur et ne manque pas de leur en tenir compte."

"Those who take the discipline are obliged to return to it every year, for without it they would fall sick, and it is not only people of the lower class and the bourgeois who practise scourging, but also persons of good quality."

The very rigid penitents practise many other mortifications. They go barefooted, they bind themselves with a piece of matting which covers their arms and a part of their body below the waist. Some carry crosses of an enormous weight, others bear naked swords stuck in the flesh of the back and the arms, which make large wounds when they make any movement unusually vehement. Those who practise those mortifications are usually masked and followed by masked servants, who support them along the route. There are many who die of those wounds. The same practice prevailed at Lisbon all the Fridays of Lent, and the women are so accustomed to this bloody and fanatical devotion that they utter reproachful cries and heap injuries on those who do not scourge themselves violently enough, according to their notions.*

Colmenar informs us, the Flagellant fanaticism extended in Spain and Portugal to the female sex: "La devotion du fouet attaqua bientot les femmes.

* Annales d'Espagne et Portugal, tome 4. p. 28.

Mais pour ne pas scandaliser le publie elles se fouetterent en chambre."*

The Flagellant processions, merged into those of the Penitents, continued in Lisbon till a late period, down to 1820. An attempt was made to renew them during Don Miguel's usurpation. So late as 1843, when I visited Portugal, and during a residence of four years in Lisbon, the processions on Good Fridays were continued. Confraternities of Penitents bearing large crosses walked then, attired as of old, but without the whips or any scourging in public. The disarmed Othellos of the Flagellant Brotherhood were there, but their occupation was gone.

* Annales d'Espagne et Portugal, tome 4. p. 28.

CHAPTER XIII.

EPIDEMIC HYSTERIA, CONVULSIVE CHOREA:—LA MANIE DE LA DANSE, OF THE FRENCH—THE TARANTULA DANCING EPIDEMIC OF APULIA.

FOURTEENTH TO SIXTEENTH CENTURIES.

THE workings of the human mind, in various circumstances affecting the nervous system and the senses, and at various epochs, marked by signal terrestrial commotions, visitations of pestilence or famine, political convulsions, or revolutions in religious opinions, afford a subject of inquiry, of no slight interest and importance.

The 14th century, and greater portion of the 15th, abounded in calamities occasioned either by pestilence or strife: and their results are very obvious in various maniacal forms of fanaticism, which prevailed in the manner of epidemics, and were confounded with demoniac influences and afflictions, mental and corporeal.

"The mind and the body," says Dr. Babington, the translator of Hecker's "Dancing Mania," "reciprocally and mysteriously affect each other, and the maladies which are the subject of these pages are so intimately connected with the disordered state of both, that it is often difficult to determine, on which

they more essentially depend, or which they more seriously influence."

Perhaps there never was a period in the history of the world, so pregnant with great national calamities throughout Europe as that of the 14th century. The great pestilence, aptly designated "The Black Death," which had consigned it is estimated a third of the human race to the grave, had not wholly subsided, when a new malady of a convulsive nervous and maniacal character, burst out in Germany about 1374, of a more strange nature than any previous malady that had afflicted humanity so extensively as to deserve the name of an epidemic.

The dancing mania connected with Demonomania, made its way into some parts of Flanders and Germany, after many signal calamities from pestilence, war, and civil feuds. This dancing disease, we are told, "was a great epidemic of a severe nervous malady, of which the present St. Vitus's dance is the feeble echo."

The afflicted generally believed they were possessed by demons; they tormented their minds with dreadful images of judgments on sins of theirs which had brought this grievous affliction on them, and they were exorcised very often with indifferent success. No one thought of dealing medicinally with their disease.

The earliest mention of the German dancing mania, I find in any contemporaneous historical work, is in the "Annales de Flandes," por Emanuel Sueyro, in the Spanish tongue, (in fol. Anvers. 1624), under

date 1374; the following notice occurs of "La Secta de los Dançantes."

"It was accounted portentous of succeeding ills, the exhibition in those days of the madness with which, from the confines of the Rhine and the Moselle, descended on Flanders so great a multitude of people who went dancing and singing through the towns, in troops of a hundred and of fifty, as if impelled by some fury: no one knew how it arose, or where first appeared this tumultuous disorder, which the laws were ill able to repress."

"Tuvose por prodigio de los males siguentes, y el haver visto en los mismos dias la locura, con que de los confines del Rhin y de la Mosa, baxò a Flandes van tan gran multitud de gente, que van dançando y cantando por las villas en tropas de ciento, y de cinquenta; como impelidos de algun furor: no se sabe como ni adonde parò este desatino, que podian mal reprimir las leyes."*

Hecker states, that so early as 1374 large assemblages of persons of both sexes were seen at Aix-la-Chapelle, who had come out of Germany, united by one common delusion, and shewed to the public and in the street the strangest spectacle. Circles joined hand in hand, strangely excited, apparently deprived of all command over their senses and of their reason, dancing continually for hours together, regardless of bystanders.†

* Annales de Flandes. Por Emanuel Sveyro. 1624. p. 556.

† Hecker. The Dancing Mania. Babington's Edition of the Epidemics of the Middle Ages. Lond. 1844. p. 88.

In Belgium the affected persons were called Dansatores Chorisantes; elsewhere they were called St. John's Dancers, and St. Vitus's Dancers.

St. Vitus's Dance,—the "Chorea Sancti Viti," known to medical authors, is described as an habitual convulsive malady, chiefly affecting the voluntary muscles of the extremities, face, head and neck of debilitated children, boys and girls, from eight to fourteen years of age indiscriminately, and sometimes, but rarely, young women at the age of puberty; a disease accompanied generally with derangement of the digestive organs, a variable and often ravenous appetite, tumescence of the stomach and lower viscera, and subsidence of the convulsive movements during sleep.

But this description of the ordinary disease gives no idea of the Dancing Plague of the 14th century. It had been heard of however so early as the 11th century in Germany, in Anhalt near Bernbourg, associated with a curse. In 1237 it is said to have prevailed at Erfurt, and traditions remained of upwards of 100 children having been seen dancing and jumping on the public roads, and sinking exhausted by the violence and duration of their paroxysms. Forty-one years later, in 1278, an outbreak of this disease is said to have taken place at Utrecht, and 200 of those attacked perished by the falling of a bridge, on the occasion of a priest passing, who was conveying the blessed sacrament to a sick person, and while they were in the midst of their uninterrupted orgies.

This catastrophe acquired the character of a Divine

retribution on the impiety and fanaticism of these people. The attacks varied at their onset in different places, and in the same places in different persons. The earliest symptoms were generally of a convulsive nature, twitches of the limbs, an irresistible impulse to bound, to leap, to dance in circles; and in some cases to run at full speed, and scamper through fields as if the parties attacked were chased by hounds.

When they danced in company for any length of time, their excitement became a furious delirium, till at length they sank down to the ground wholly exhausted. The accounts given of them at the termination of those paroxysms forcibly remind me of the condition of whirling Dervishes in the vicinity of Cairo, as it has been witnessed by me, when after tramping round and round, hand in hand, keeping time to the sing-song utterance of the reiterated word *Allah*, not only with the movements of the feet, but with the motions of the head, with gradually increasing velocity, till at length the gyrations attained the utmost degree of violent exertion, the sounds became a confused murmur, and one by one swooning individuals dropped out of the circle, staggered, and sank exhausted, or fell suddenly wholly senseless to the ground.

In the dancing mania of Germany, during the swoon that followed violent paroxysms, the sufferers were insensible to sounds, and to pain, but became often convulsed, foamed at the mouth, their limbs were vehemently moved, and the features hideously

distorted. Those who were not thus tormented had ecstasies and visions, fancied they conversed with angels, and enjoyed the highest state of beatitude in the highest heaven. When they came out of the swoon, all the beatitude was gone, they manifested intense internal sufferings, oppression of the chest, a sense of sinking, of insupportable vacuity, as if all vital energy had died away in their interior, especially in the stomach, and whole epigastric region.

In this pitiable state they writhed in agony, groaned, and supplicated the bystanders for relief. And the only relief they experienced was by swathing them with cloths as tightly as they could be bound round their bodies, or pressing with all possible force on their stomachs, trampling on them, or inflicting blows, that in their normal condition, in many well authenticated instances, would have been sufficient to produce death. The same phenomena, be it observed, were exhibited in the case of the convulsionnaires of St. Medard. On coming out of swoons the same symptoms were manifested, and the same extraordinary means of relief employed.

The assemblages of penitential monomaniacs were addressed too by furious enthusiasts, who denounced priests and prelates, and howled imprecations on their heads. And when these pious exercises were performed, and each "occasion" of a gathering of the elect was thus suitably improved, the meeting closed with playing up a stirring tune, with a blast of the trumpet or a roll of the drum, or a squeak

of the bagpipes, which was a favourite instrument with the elect, especially in the Rhenish Provinces of Germany. And then the dancing orgies ensued, and the humiliating spectacle of human beings in multitudes rushing into all sorts of extravagances, as if the inmates of all the Bedlams of the land had been let loose, and were then congregated in one place, for the delirious exercises of bounding, jumping, tramping, panting as if they were ready to die, and dancing as if they would never cease, if it were possible, to make the last moment of their lives coincident with the kicking of their feet.

The preposterousness of their infatuation in Belgium could not be exceeded, the dancers flocked to the assemblies with garlands in their hair, tricked out for the orgies, as if they came prepared for bridal festivities.

But in strange contrast with the garlands appeared the bandages on their person, prepared for the swathing after the mad dance was over, all in readiness on the waist for twisting tightly by means of a stick used for that purpose, when the attack of the tympanitic distension should ensue and necessitate that remedy.

In Liege the fanatics assembled in large multitudes, raved about the sins of the world, preached against its wickedness, denounced the worshippers of the devils who invented fashions and suggested all innovations in attire.

And yet the "The Demon fashion" of the fifteenth

age had little to answer for, compared with the diabolical milliners of the nineteenth century, who have bewitched womankind with crinoline.

The poor dancing fanatics of Germany and of Belgium of the middle ages had no awful exaggerations of human nature, and alarming consumption of silken materials for the attire of those enlarged dimensions, to bewail in their penitential sermons. They had only to weep over the wickedness of shoes pointed at the toes, and the weakness of the sex as it was manifested in those times, in a passion for trinkets, and other vanities which those daughters of Eve inherited from their grandmothers, if not from the first mother of mankind.

The dancing plague broke out in Strasburg in 1418. The symptoms were the same as in other places in previous visitations of the epidemic. People affected went about in strolling bands, accompanied by musicians playing on bagpipes, dancing with frantic violence, and followed by great crowds of idle and disorderly people of profligate habits. The ranks of the dancing maniacs were kept up by constant accession either of impostors, who became eventually affected by the *attraits impulsifs*, of imitation and contagion of familiar intercourse long continued with a phrenzied multitude, or by the numbers of the friends and relatives of the afflicted, who followed them from motives of affection, and who by the force of sympathy were drawn within the influence of this powerful delusion.

The authorities of Strasburg and other places in the Rhenish Provinces, appointed superintendents to watch over the affected, and to aid them in proceeding to certain chapels dedicated to St. Vitus, near Zabern and Rotestein, where the clergy ministered to them, and special religious services were performed, in which hundreds earnestly engaged. Hecker, not much disposed to favour any views which he believes superstitious, acknowledges that by these means "it is probable that many were through the influence of devotion and the sanctity of the place cured of this lamentable aberration." And he states moreover, "it was worthy of observation that the dancing mania did not recommence at the altars of the saint, and that from him alone assistance was implored, and through his miraculous interposition a cure was expected which was beyond the reach of human skill."

The reasons why particular saints are singled out of the Calendar as patrons, specially devoted to the interests, or propitious to the prayers of sick people peculiarly diseased, appear more unaccountable than they are in reality. The saint who becomes renowned for cures effected by his intercession in cases of disease called St. Vitus's dance finds no clients among those affected with the malady designated St. Anthony's fire. And yet, although there is no ground for believing that St. Vitus, or St. John the Baptist ever suffered from hystero-convulsive-chorea, or had any knowledge of that malady, more than St. Anthony or any other saint, we find reasons given

in their lives for the peculiar veneration in which their memories were held by persons suffering under particular visitations. St. Vitus, son of Hylas, a Gentile magnate, was born in Mazara, in Sicily, in the time of Diocletian; while yet a child, we are told by Ribadeneira,* he manifested extraordinary piety, and even in childhood "began to work great miracles, healing the sick, casting out devils, and doing such other wonderful things, for God had chosen him from that most tender age to manifest his glory in him, and by him." He was rescued out of the hands of persecution by Modestus and Crescentia, and finally conveyed to Rome. The great fame of St. Vitus for sanctity and miraculous gifts, made him known to the Emperor Diocletian, who availed himself of the signal spiritual gifts to rescue a child of his from the power of the demon by whom that child was possessed. By the prayers of St. Vitus the child was delivered from the evil spirit, as we are informed; but the young saint refusing the proffered favour of the Emperor, and the conditions on which it was offered, namely, of abjuring Christ, and adoring the gods of paganism, he was cast into prison in Lucania, together with Modestus and Crescentia. The Emperor finally ordered them to be thrown into a cauldron of boiling pitch, and other inflammable compounds, to see whether their God could deliver them out of his hands. Signing the cauldron with the sign of the cross they entered in

* Lives of the Saints. From the Spanish of the Rev. Father Peter Ribadeneira. 3rd Ed. Dublin, 1763. p. 270, 2nd part.

a holy transport of hope and joy, singing praises and hymns to God, and they came forth unhurt, in the presence of twenty thousand people. Diocletian then ordered them to be put to death on a scaffold stretched on the Catasta, where they endured the most frightful torments. These had not ceased before a furious tempest and earthquake ensued, which buried several temples of the Pagan gods, and killed many of their worshippers. The Emperor fled in consternation, and acknowledged he was overcome by a Christian boy. Then appeared an angel of the Lord who delivered the confessors from their torments, and carried them to the banks of a river, and placed them under a tree, and there the martyrs gave up their souls to God on the 15th of June, A. D. 303, and were honourably buried. The domain of history borders on the confines of legendary lore: but, though often confounded with the latter, is still separable from it in some important particulars.

The body of St. Vitus was moved to Apulia in 672, afterwards translated to St. Denis in France, and in 836 to the abbey of Corvey in Saxony. Some of the relics in 775 had been obtained by Wenceslaus, king of Bohemia, and enshrined in a church built to his honour in Prague. The power ascribed to St. Vitus of casting out devils and performing miraculous cures was then the cause of the trust reposed in his intercession, and the recourse to it of those afflicted with a disease generally considered as one of supernatural origin in the 15th century. The festival of St. Vitus occurs on the 15th of June.

St. John the Baptist was no less a patron saint of those afflicted with the dancing mania than St. Vitus.

The great powers and privileges of this saint, predicted even before his birth, may have contributed in part to the patronage of St. John being so earnestly sought by all labouring under diseases supposed to be connected with diabolical agencies. The command to Zachary, "Thou shalt call his name John, and he shall be great before God," his prophetic gifts and especial graces, the prodigies connected with his mission, the spirit of poverty and mortification which sanctified his solitude in the wilderness, all these considerations served to invest the character of the Baptist with those traits of power and divine influence which gave to his patronage peculiar advantages in the eyes of those subjected to ills regarded as supernatural. The festival of St. John occurs on the 24th of June.

But legendary lore had much to do with the connexion of the name and patronage of St. John the Baptist with the dancing mania of the 14th century. Not only formerly in Germany, but in several other countries, and in Ireland, within my own recollection; the festival of St. John and the eve of it were solemnized by bonfires; leaping through the flames; by patterns at holy wells dedicated to the Saint; by music and dancing.

In the East both Greeks and Latins celebrate this festival with modes of rejoicing of a very heathenish character, and in the Greek churches particularly with

squibs, crackers, fireworks, and discharge of pistols; more like Bacchanalian orgies than Christian usages.

In Germany the Pagan custom of kindling the Nodfyr had been transferred to the festival of St. John's day, and was solemnized with dancing and leaping through the flames, like a sort of baptism of fire: notwithstanding the denunciation of these orgies by St. Boniface. The same custom on this festival appears to have existed in the time of St. Augustine, and met with similar denunciations by him.

The accounts, in fact, given by various writers of the bonfire revels of the middle ages in honour of St. John's festival, the jumping through the flames, and passing children through them for the prevention of diseases for the ensuing year, and the running round the fire with brands, or dancing in circles with them in their hands, would lead one to imagine no slight vestige of the ancient Roman lustration by fire in the Palilia was to be found in these usages of St. John's fires.

Hecker couples the first appearance of the dancing maniacs in Aix-la-Chapelle in July, soon after the festival of the Baptist, with the fact of their uttering in their exclamations the name of St. John, and says: "The conjecture is probable that the wild revels of St. John's day, A. D. 1374, gave rise to this mental plague, which thenceforth has visited so many thousands with incurable aberration of intellect and disgusting distortions of body."

The plague dance was not confined to the young, it attacked persons of all ages and conditions, both sexes, inhabitants of towns and cities, and the peasantry. It was manifested periodically in Germany, year after year, during the prevalence of the epidemic, for several weeks prior to St. Vitus's festival in some places, and in others prior to the commemoration of St. John's birth-day. The uncontrollable rage for dancing, or jumping, or hopping, which latter was a very usual sort of violent movement with those afflicted with the malady, was associated with a passionate eagerness for music, and especially for the shrill tones of fifes, and the piercing din and brazen notes of trumpets.

The paroxysms were generally exacerbated by the stunning and tumultuous performance of their musicians. There was seldom any assemblage of the fanatics without the latter, and Horstius states the dancing rage was usually excited by the music, and convulsions also.

They had tunes composed for them, and these were characterized by sudden transitions in the measure—

"From grave to gay, from lively to severe."

But none of these tunes of the German votaries of St. Vitus have been preserved: not so with those of Italy, thanks to the industry of the learned Jesuit Kircher.

The plague dance of Germany and Flanders lasted for about two centuries, declined and died

away, and has never re-appeared, in its original form or intensity.

If any disorder of the human race ever might be accounted one of demoniac origin, it surely was this furious and uncontrollable rage of "La Secta de los Dançantes," as they are called by Suero.

In the work of the learned Jesuit, Athanasius Kircher, "De Arte Magnetica," (Col. 4to. 1643. p. 756) treating "De Tarantismo sive Tarantula, Apulo Phalangio (sive araneo) ejûsque magnetismo, ac mira cum musica sympathia," we find the most interesting account of the Tarantula dancing mania of Apulia that has been given by any writer: and to the Tarantella tunes collected by him, with their accompanying words and graphic description of the antidotal dance and music of the Tarantula, many travellers of great repute of our times are indebted for their Apulian lore on this subject, and have appropriated the labours and research of the erudite Jesuit without scruple or acknowledgment, on the principle of the legitimacy of spoiling the Egyptians.

The word Tarantula, he says, is derived from the city of Tarento or from the river Thara in Apulia, in the vicinity of which those venomous spiders which produce the dancing disease abound.* But

* Hecker disagrees with Kircher as to the derivation of the word Tarantula from Tarento or Tharo, he thinks the word is derived from Terrantola. "The word," says Hecker, "is apparently the same as *terrantola*, a name given by the Italians to a *stellio* of the old Romans, which was a kind of lizard, said

they are also found, he states, in Calabria, Sicily and in the country about Rome in the hottest months. Labourers in the fields, gardeners and vine-dressers are chiefly those who are bitten by those noxious spiders. The bite is inflicted with teeth, not with a sharp sting as in the bee, although the tarantula bite looks as if it was only the puncture made by the bee, but the venom is so subtle that it is quickly diffused through the whole body, and penetrates even to the region of the heart.

The effects of the poison are manifested sooner or later by disquietude, want of sleep, loss of appetite, excitement, and convulsive movements, "so that some perpetually run, others laugh, others weep, others vociferate, others sleep, others can get no rest, others are tormented with vomitings, some leap, some perspire, others tremble, some are wholly oppressed with fear, and others suffer various inconveniences, become phrenetic, lymphatic, and like maniacs. In fact these symptoms are so various, it can only be said they arise from various degrees of virulence in the poison or difference of temperament in those affected."*

to be poisonous, and invested by credulity with such extraordinary qualities, that like the serpent of the Mosaic account of the creation, it personified in the imagination of the vulgar, the notion of cursing by the appellation of a stellionatus." But Kircher was a man of varied learning and vast research, as well as of science, and therefore his opinion on a matter of this kind must be preferred to Hecker's.

* Kircher de Arte Mag. p. 757.

Kircher observes the remarkable circumstance, that the sense of sight as well as that of hearing is morbidly affected in this disease. Persons bitten by the tarantula were found to be singularly excited by the sight of any glistening metallic objects, especially of weapons, such as swords. They were affected too in different countries by the same colours in a different manner. In Germany the sight of a red garment was found insupportable. In Italy cloths and ribbons of the same colour became at first repugnant, eventually agreeable to the Tarantulists: more than agreeable, objects of passionate admiration.*

It is especially worthy of notice that the decided symptoms of the disease, according to Kircher, usually set in with the heat of summer, and then it

* The following are the words of the Jesuit: Alii enim viridem flavum allii afficient. Nonulli rubrum colorem depereunt: mox enim ac obiectum coloratum ipsis gratum occurrerit, ita vehementi eius desiderio accenduntur, vt veluti leones famelici, frequenti morsicatione id vellicent, stringant; deinde ad blandimenta deuoluti, non secus ac amoris insania laborantes, hiante ore, expansis brachijs, oculis lachrymantibus, frequentibus ex imo pectore haustis suspiriis, in teneros et amorosos amplexus panni colorati irruentes, ardentissimê unionem et vt ita loquur, identificationem cum eo affectare videntur: quæ omnia confirmantur exemplo personæ religiosæ è sucro Capuccinorum ordine hoc malo affectæ, quod in ipsa Tarentina Vrbe in presentia eminentissimi Cardinalis Caietani, dictæ Ciuitatis Archiepiscopi contigit; desiderabat hic vnicè videre exoticos et prorsus extrauagantes huius Religiosi in saltando, de quibus multum inaudierat, paroxysmos." —Kircher, de Arte Mag. p. 758.

was that the action of the poison in the human body excited a desire for the sounds of musical instruments, and for harmony proportioned to the discords of the nervous systems of the sufferers. Grave men, labouring under this disorder, and even discreet matrons, were then seen impelled to most violent fits of leaping, so that all decorum being abandoned, all restraints of modesty being broken through, they rushed into extravagances and excesses as if they were possessed by devils. But before these violent dancing outbreaks occurred, previously for the space of two months, divers morbid effects were produced in the bodies of the persons bitten, great dejection, loss of appetite, burning fever, pains of the joints, a livid squalid hue, like that occasioned by jaundice.*

A Salernian physician of the 11th century, Gariopontus, in a Latin work, entitled "De Morborum Causis accidendibus et curationibus, (Basil. 1506, in 8vo. p. 27)," refers to an epidemic mania of his time, characterized by many of the leading symptoms of the Tarantula dancing malady, and shewing unmistakably something more than an affinity between the two disorders. And first, be it observed, that Gariopontus was a native of the kingdom of Naples, and from his residence at Salerno, must have been well acquainted with the neighbouring territory of Apulia. The substance of the passage in the work of Gariopontus, is to the following effect:

* Kircher de Arte Mag. p. 757.

Anteneneasmon (the *enthusiasmus* of the Greek physicians,) is a kind of mania extremely dangerous. Those affected with it are suddenly excited, and impelled to violent movements of the hands and feet, because they falsely imagine in their ears they hear various sounds as of voices that are like the musical tones of divers instruments, by which being so delighted they leap, or dance, or run swiftly. They seize suddenly on a sword, and strike themselves or others; and they endeavour to bite themselves and others. By some they are called *percussores*, others say they are the legions of the devil, and in their paroxysms are vexed and tormented by demons. . . If they foam at the mouth, or the cause of their disease is the bite of rabid dog, within seven days they die: "quod si spumam per os ejecerint vel en canis rabidi morsu causa fuerit, intra septem dies moriuntur."*

The idea that this furibond mania might be caused by the bite of a mad dog, however erroneous it may be, affords evidence at least of the opinion entertained by the old Salernian physician, that symptoms such as those he described of convulsive mania, might be occasioned by the virus of a rabid animal in the case of a bitten person. One step farther in experience would have brought him to the conclusion, that the virus of a venomous insect could have produced similar effects, with the exception of the fatal result within a term of a few days.

* For original Latin citation, see Hecker's Dancing Mania.

It is quite certain, however, that the Greeks and Romans were acquainted with the mischievous effects of the bites of venomous spiders, but no mention is ever made of one of those effects being an irresistible impulse to dance, or of a mode of cure being the performance of music, and the exercise of dancing in harmony with it.

The earliest account of this disease is in a work of Nicholas Perotti, a man of learning, born in 1430, deceased in 1480;* of this disorder, he states there were no records, in the writings of those who went before him: "Hic majorum nostrorum temporibus in Italiæ visus non fiut, nunc frequens in Apulia visitur."

Alexander ab Alexandro in his Genialium Dierum, libri vi, who lived from 1461 to 1523, states that he saw a young man in a remote village in the kingdom of Naples, who was seized with a violent attack of Tarrantism, who in a paroxysm of his disorder danced with astonishing vehemence, and violently leaped like a madman, keeping time however with the music that was played for him, and at its cessation saw him fall to the ground in a state of syncope, from which he recovered when the musicians recommenced.

The Apulian mania for dancing may be regarded as of a much earlier date, than any notices of it as a distinct disease in the works of writers of the 15th century. There can be little doubt that a venomous spider exists in the south of Italy, the bite of which

* Cornucopiæ Latinæ Linguæ, Basel. 1536, fol. Comment. in Epigram. Mart. p. 51, 52.

produces disorders of the nervous system with violent convulsive movements. This was only noticed in the fifteenth century by medical men. But long before the disease was described by Perotti, a dancing mania existed in some parts of Apulia and Calabria. This disease may have been a remnant of the dance of St. Vitus of the Germans and Belgians of 1374, or of the children of Erfurt in 1237. But there is no reasonable ground for doubting that a disease of a very similar character was occasioned in Apulia by the bite of a venomous spider. And it appears equally certain that independently of the venomous bite of the spider, the disease was spontaneously produced in a vast number of cases by the workings of the human mind. In periods of great fanaticism or times of signal pestilential calamity, the disorder might and did arise alone from the force of imagination and the instinct of imitation. Kircher's statement, moreover, that after a person was bitten by the venomous spider, although he was affected by depression of spirits, or general feelings of malaise, the violent paroxysm of the rage for dancing did not usually occur till the following summer season when the great heat set in; this would tend very strongly to confirm the opinion that if the traditions of the German and Belgian plague dance of an earlier period did not exist, that phase of *tarantism* which was marked by a rage for dancing would not have been observed.

It is far more easy to understand how the force

of imagination and the instinct of imagination would have produced it, than to comprehend how the virus of a venomous insect would have remained dormant in a bitten person for several months; or, according to Kircher's account, as it might do for a year.*

"Tarantism," says Hecker, "has been denied *in toto*, and stigmatized as an imposition by most physicians and naturalists, who in this controversy have shewn the narrowness of their views and their utter ignorance of history."

Among the incredulous writers who have denied the existence of the disease, as being occasioned principally by the bite of a venomous insect, is Serao, a Neapolitan, who published a treatise on the subject in 1742, entitled "Tarantola o vero Falangio de Puglia." He considered the bite as a stimulus given to melancholy, the chief cause of the malady acting as a spur would do on a horse already running—accelerating motion.

At the close of the 15th century this dancing mania of Apulia was at its height. In Asia, at the same period, a panic prevailed in many places of a similar kind to that which existed in Italy. The

* "Morsu itaque transfundit venenum per corpore icti, qui in principio quidem adeo parum sentitur, ut simplex muscæ morsus videri possit, sed post anni revolutionem peractam calore solis et tempore qualitate ad sonos et musicorum instrumentarum harmoniam proportionatam venenum patientes viros etiam et matronas honestissimas in saltus cogitata violentos," &c. Kircher, De Arte Mag. p. 757.

dread of the bite of venomous serpents was greater in Asia than it had been in the memory of man.*

The Tarantism mania of Apulia continued without much abatement throughout the 16th century. It prevailed likewise through the whole course of the 17th century, but with a declining strength; from the commencement of the 18th it may be said to have ceased in an epidemic form; and from 1821 to 1824, during a constant residence in Naples, I can state from my own knowledge and inquiries in that country that the occurrence of a single case of the disorder is rare.

To what cause are we to attribute that result? Has the Tarantula spider, the Araneus Apulus Phalangius, died out in Apulia?

Has the venom of the insect become less injurious to persons bitten by it?

Is the disease occasioned by the bite better understood than in former times?

We need not trouble ourselves with those inquiries.

We will find an explanation of the result above referred to in a few facts, connected with changes in the moral and physical condition of the people of Southern Italy.

In the last century and a half there have been few great pestilences in Italy. A single species of pestilence, but the most terrible of all, "the oriental bubo

* Hecker, Dancing Mania, p. 129.

plague," says Hecker, ravaged Italy sixteen times between the years 1119 and 1340."

All the links which connected the eighteenth century with the middle ages have been long since snapped asunder.

A barbarous state of society, insecurity, oppression, ignorance, and fanaticism are no longer powerful, predisposing influences, calculated in every visitation of sickness or of distress on a large scale, to strike a panic in the public mind, to knock down the vital energies, to enervate the intellectual and moral powers, and to disorder the whole nervous system, leaving the workings of the human mind in particular conjunctory and trying circumstances, under no controlling influences, ready to confound the inspirations of fanaticism with those of religion, and to let imagination give a shape to emotions and excitements which border on the domain of disease, and eventually pass the boundary of reason.

The dancing mania of Germany of the 15th century is still kept in popular remembrance in some places, by an annual festival, especially at Echternach, a small town in Luxembourg, about twenty miles from Treves, where thousands of people annually meet on Whit-Tuesday to solemnize this feast with what is termed "the jumping procession," and also the procession of the jumping saints. "The ancient practice thus annually honoured, originated," says a correspondent in Notes and Queries, "in the 14th century, and obtained the name of St. Vitus's

dance. It first broke out in the Archbishopric of Treves and Cologne and other parts of Germany. The name was derived from a chapel in Ulm, dedicated to St. Vitus, which was much in vogue with those afflicted with the disease, who flocked here in crowds to entreat the saint's intercession in their behalf. There were men of the time who observed that those who suffered under the disease were afflicted with spasmodic movements of the limbs which forced them to dance and jump about like madmen, without any power over their own will, until they fell down in a state of exhaustion. These observers conceived the idea, that by voluntarily going through the same process, and performing the same fatiguing movements they might ward off the disease itself—a curious foreshadowing of the system of Jenner and Hahnemann. Acting upon this idea, the festival of the procession of the Jumpers was formed: and once a year, on Whit-Tuesday, that procession still wends its way to the grave of St. Willebrodus in the ancient abbey church of Echternach. The procession starts from the bridge accompanied by several bands of music. The pilgrims of both sexes form in rows and spring first four steps forward and three back, then eight forward and three back: and so on, continually increasing the steps forward, but making no change in those backward, until they reach the church, where they throw themselves on their faces and begin to pray. Having entered the church, after prayer, the flag-

bearers and brothers of the order place themselves under the great lustre, with its seventy-two lighted tapers, and high mass, accompanied by solemn music, begins. I should have mentioned that the jumping march is performed to curious old music, composed expressly for this ceremony. So many evils arose from bringing such masses of people together in so small a compass, so much drunkenness, riot, and debauchery, that the festival was suppressed by law in 1777; it was, however, re-introduced by Joseph II. in 1790; put down by the French in 1795, and again appeared in 1802, in which year there were nearly 3000 dancers and 74 musicians. In the year 1812 there were 12,678 dancers in the procession, which has, however, now diminished to an annual average of 8000."*

* Notes and Queries, September, 1856.

APPENDIX.

No. I.

OF MALEFIC SPIRITS:

Opinions of the Platonists and Pythagoreans of the Third Century of the Christian Æra; of Porphyry, a Platonic philosopher of Tyre, born in the year A.D. 233, *the scholar of Longinus; and of Jamblichus, a Pythagorean philosopher and Platonist, a disciple of Porphyry.*

PORPHYRY'S opinions on the nature of demons, good and evil, have been evidently studied and many of them appropriated in a very wholesale manner, without any acknowledgment moreover, by "spiritualists" of America of the first order, Dr. Ware, Mr. A. J. Davies, and several others.

In the treatise, "on Abstinence from Animal food," Porphyry discoursing of "those invisible beings whom Plato indiscriminately calls demons," says—"But such souls as do not rule over the pneumatic substance (or spirit) with which they are connected; but for the most part are vanquished by it, these are vehemently agitated and borne along (in a disorderly manner,) when the irascible motions and desires of the pneumatic substance receive an impetus. These souls are indeed demons, but are deservedly called malefic demons.

"All these beings, likewise, and those who possess a contrary power, are invisible, and perfectly imperceptible by human senses: for they are not surrounded by, with a solid body, nor are all of them of one form, but they are fashioned in numerous figures. The forms, however, which characterize their pneumatic substance, at one time become apparent, but at another invisible, sometimes also those

that are malefic change their forms: but the pneumatic substance, so far as it is corporeal, is passive and corruptible: and though, because it is thus bound by the souls that are incumbent on it, the form of it remains for a long time, yet it is not eternal. For it is probable that something continually flows from it, and also that it is nourished. . . . They (the malefic demons) are distributed about the terrestrial region. Hence, there is no evil which they do not attempt to effect: for, in short, being violent and fraudulent in their manners, and being also deprived of the guardian care of more excellent demons, they make for the most part vehement and sudden attacks: sometimes endeavouring to conceal their incursions, but at other times assaulting openly. Hence the molestations produced by them are rapid: but the remedies and corrections proceeding from more excellent demons appear to be more slowly effected." . . . . "It must be admitted, however, that one of the greatest injuries occasioned by malefic demons is this, that though they are the causes of the calamities which take place about the earth, such as pestilence, sterility, earthquakes, excessive dryness, and the like, yet they endeavour to persuade us that they are the cause of things the most contrary to these, viz: of benignity, fertility, (salubrity and elementary peace.) . . . But they effect these, and things of a similar nature, in consequence of wishing to turn us from right conceptions of the gods, and convert us to themselves: for they are delighted with all such as act incongruously and discordantly, and as it were, assuming the persons of other gods, they enjoy the effects of our imprudence and folly. Conciliating to themselves the good opinion of the vulgar by inflaming the minds of men with the love of riches, power, and pleasure, and filling them with the desire of vain glory, from which sedition and war, and other things allied to them, are

produced. *But that which is the most clear of all things they proceed still further, and persuade men that similar things are effected by the greatest gods, &c. . . .* * *And not only the vulgar are affected in this manner, but not a few also of those who are conversant with philosophy.*" . . . "All enchantment, however, is performed through demons of a contrary nature (to those who are good,) for those who perpetrate evil through enchantments, especially venerate these malefic beings, and the power that presides over them. For they are full of every kind of imagination, and are sufficiently qualified to deceive through effects of a prodigious nature. . . . For all intemperance, and hope of possessing wealth and renown, and especially deception, exist through these; since falsehood is allied to these malevolent beings; *for they wish to be considered as gods, and the power which presides over them is ambitious to appear to be the greatest god.*"*

So far for the opinions of Porphyry in relation to malefic spirits: we now proceed to those of Jamblichus, on the same subject.

"It is also necessary to demonstrate to you, in what demons, heroes, and souls differ from each other, and whether this difference is according to essence, or according to power, or according to energy. I say, therefore, that demons are produced according to the generative and demiurgic powers of the gods, in the most remote termination of progression, and ultimate distribution into parts. But heroes are produced according to the reasons, (or effective principles) of life in divine natures; and from these, the first and perfect measures of souls receive their termination and distribution into parts."

"Let us, however, now proceed to the appearances of

* Select works of Porphyry, translated from the Greek by Thomas Taylor, Lon. 1823. Of Abstin. from Animal Food. Book ii. pp. 75, 79.

the gods and their perpetual attendants, and shew what the difference is in their appearance. For you inquire '*by what indication the presence of a god, or an angel, or an archangel, or a demon, or a certain archon (i.e. ruler) or a soul, may be known.*' In one word, therefore, I conclude that their appearances accord with their essences, powers, and energies. For such as they are, such also do they appear to those that invoke them, and they exhibit energies and ideas consentaneous to themselves, and proper indications of themselves. But that we may descend to particulars, the phasmatæ, or luminous appearances, of the gods are uniform; those of demons are various; those of angels are more simple than those of demons, but are subordinate to those of the gods; those of archangels approximate in a greater degree to divine causes; but those of archons, if those powers appear to you to be the cosmocrators, who govern the sublunary elements, will be more various, but adorned in order; but if they are the powers that preside over matter, they will indeed be more various, and more imperfect, than those of the archons (properly so called); and those of souls will appear to be all-various. And the phasmata, indeed, of the gods will be seen shining with salutary light; those of archangels will be terrible, and at the same time mild; those of demons will be dreadful, those of heroes (which you have omitted in your inquiry, but to which we shall give an answer for the sake of truth) are milder than those of demons; but those of archons, if their dominion pertains to the world, produce astonishment, but if they are material they are noxious and painful to the spectators; and those of souls are similar to the heroic phasmata, except that they are inferior to them." . . . *

* Jamblichus. "On the Mysteries of The Egyptians, Chaldeans and Asyrians." Translated from the Greek by Thomas Taylor, Chis. 1821, Sect. 2, ch. 1, pp. 82, 86.

"Farther still, order and quiet pertain to the gods; but with archangels, there is an efficacy of order and quiet. With angels, the adorned and the tranquil are present, but not unattended with motion. Perturbation and disorder follow the demonaical phasmata; but spectacles attend the archons, indeed, being borne along tumultuously; but those of a leading characteristic, presenting themselves to the view, firmly established in themselves. The phasmata of heroes are subject to motion and mutation; but those of souls resemble, indeed, the heroic, but at the same time are less than these. In addition also to these peculiarities, divine beauty indeed shines with an immense splendour, as it were, fixes the spectators in astonishment, imparts a divine joy, presents itself to the view with ineffable symmetry, and is exempt from all other species of pulchritude. But the blessed spectacles of archangels have indeed themselves the greatest beauty, yet are not so ineffable and admirable as those of the gods. Those of angels divide, in a partible manner, the beauty which they receive from archangels. But the demoniacal and heroical self-visive spirits, have both of them beauty in definite forms, yet the former is adorned in reasons which define the essence, and the latter exhibits fortitude." . . . *

"Hence, in the forms of the gods which are seen by the eyes, the most clear spectacles of truth itself are perceived, which are also accurately splendid, and shine forth with an evolved light. The images of archangels present themselves to the view true and perfect; but those of angels preserve, indeed, the same form, but fail in plenitude of indication. The images of demons are obscure; and those of heroes are seen to be still inferior to these. With respect also, to archons, the images of such as are mundane, are clear; but such as are material, obscure."†

* Ib. p. 88. † Ib. p. 91.

"Moreover, the gifts arising from the manifestations are not all of them equal, nor have the same fruits. But the presence of the gods, indeed, imparts to us health of body, virtue of soul, purity of intellect, and in one word, elevates every thing in us to its proper principle. And that, indeed, in us which is cold and destructive it annihilates; that which is hot it increases, and renders more powerful and predominant; and causes all things to accord with soul and intellect. It also emits a light, accompanied with intelligible harmony, and exhibits that which is not body as body to the eyes of the soul, through those of the body. The presence of archangels imparts likewise the same things, except that it does not impart them always, nor in all things, nor does it bestow goods which are sufficient, perfect, and incapable of being taken away: nor is their appearance accompanied with a light equal to that of the gods. The presence of angels imparts divisibly still more partible goods, and the energy through which it becomes visible falls very short of comprehending in itself a perfect light. That of demons renders the body, indeed, heavy, afflicts with diseases, draws down the soul to nature, does not depart from bodies, and detains about this terrestrial place those who are hastening to divine fire, and does not liberate from the bonds of fate."*

"We must say the same thing, therefore, concerning phantasms. For if these are not true, but other things are so which have a real existence, thus also in the appearances of spirits, they seem to be such as things which are true beings; at the same time, they participate of falsehood and deception, in the same manner as the forms which present themselves to the view in mirrors; and thus vainly attract the mind about things which never take place in any of the more excellent genera. These phan-

* Ib. p. 96.

tasms likewise, will consist in deceptive perversions. For that which is an imitation of (real) being, and is an obscure assimilation, and becomes the cause of deception, pertains to no one of the true and clearly existing genera. But the gods, indeed, and those powers that follow the gods, reveal true images of themselves, but by no means extend phantasms of themselves, such as exist in water, or in mirrors. For on what account should they exhibit these? Shall we say as bringing with them an indication of their own essence and power? This, however, is by no means the case. For these phantasms become the cause of deception to those that believe in them, and withdraw the spectators from the true knowledge of the gods. Shall we say then, that it is because they afford a certain utility to those that behold them? But what advantage can be derived from falsehood? If therefore this is not the case, may it not be natural to divinity to extend a phantasm from itself? But how can that which is firmly established in itself, and which is the cause of essence and truth, produce in a foreign seat a certain deceitful imitation of itself? By no means therefore does divinity either transform himself into phantasms, nor extend these from himself to other things, but emits by illumination, true representations of himself, in the manner of souls." . . . *

"Concerning the divination, therefore, which takes place in sleep, you say as follows: '*We frequently obtain through dreams, when we are asleep, a knowledge of future events, not being in an ecstasy, through which we are much agitated, for the body is quiet, but we do not apprehend what we see in the same clear manner as when we are awake.*' It is usual, however, for what you here say, to happen in human dreams, and in dreams which are excited by the soul, or by some of our conceptions, or by reason, or by imagination,

* Ib. p. 107.

or certain diurnal cases. And these, indeed, are sometimes true, and sometimes false; and in some things they apprehend reality, but in many deviate from it. But the dreams which are denominated *theopemptoi*, or sent from God, do not subsist after the manner which you mention; but they take place, either when asleep in leaving us, and we are beginning to awake, and then we hear a certain voice, which concisely tells us what is to be done; or voices are heard by us, between sleeping and waking, or when we are perfectly awake. And sometimes, indeed, an invisible and incorporeal spirit surrounds the recumbents, so as not to be perceived by the sight, but by a certain other cosensation and intelligence. The entrance of this spirit, also, is accompanied with a noise, and he diffuses himself on all sides without any contact, and effects admirable works conducive to the liberation of the soul and body. But sometimes a bright and tranquil light shines forth, by which the sight of the eyes is detained, and which occasions them to become closed, though they were before open. The other senses, however, are in a vigilant state, and in a certain respect have a cosensation of the light unfolded by the gods; and the recumbents hear what the gods say, and know by a consecutive perception what is then done by them."*

"The wise, therefore, speak as follows: The soul having a two-fold life, one being in conjunction with body, but the other being separate from all body; when we are awake we employ, for the most part, the life which is common with the body, except when we separate ourselves entirely from it by pure intellectual and dianoetic energies. But when we are asleep, we are perfectly liberated, as it were, from certain surrounding bonds, and use a life separated from generation."

* Ib. p. 116.

"And it possesses a divination still more perfect than this, when it conjoins the portions of life and intellectual energy to the wholes from which it was separated. For then it is from wholes with all scientific knowledge, so as the most part to attain by its conceptions to the apprehension of every thing which is effected in the world. Indeed, when it is united to the gods, by a liberated energy of this kind, it then receives the most true plenitudes of intellections, from which it emits the true divination of divine dreams, and derives the most genuine principles of knowledge."*

"And bodies, indeed, that are diseased it heals; but properly disposes such things as subsist among men erroneously aud disorderly. It likewise frequently delivers the discoveries of arts, the distributions of justice, and the establishment of legal institutions. Thus in the temple of Esculapius, diseases are healed through divine dreams; and through the order of nocturnal appearances, the medical art is obtained from sacred dreams." . . . †

"Again, therefore, still worse than this is, the explanation of sacred operations, which assigns as the cause of divination, '*a certain genus of demons, which is naturally fraudulent, omniform, and various, and which assumes the appearance of gods, and demons, and the souls of the deceased.*' I shall therefore relate to you, in answer to this, what I once heard from the prophets of the Chaldeans. Such gods as are truly divinities, are alone the givers of good; alone associate with good men, and with those that are purified by the sacerdotal art, and from these amputate all vice, and every passion. When these also impart their light, that which is evil, and at the same time demoniacal, vanishes from before more excellent natures, in the same as darkness when light is present; nor is it able to disturb

* Ib. pp. 118-119. † Ib. p. 120.

theurgists in the smallest degree, who receive from this light every virtue, obtain worthy manners, become orderly and elegant in their actions, are liberated from passions, and purified from every disorderly motion, and from atheistical and unholy conduct. But those who are themselves flagitious, and who leap as it were to things of a divine nature in an illegal and disorderly manner, these, through the imbecility of their proper energy, or through indigence of inherent power, are not able to associate with the gods. Because, likewise, they are excluded through certain defilements from an association with pure spirits, they become connected with evil spirits, are filled from them with the worst kind of inspiration, are rendered depraved and unholy, become replete with intemperate pleasures, and every kind of vice, are emulous of manners foreign to the gods, and in short, become similar to the depraved demons with whom they are connascent. These therefore, being full of passions and vice attract to themselves, through alliance, depraved spirits, and are excited by them to every kind of iniquity. They are also increased in wickedness by each other, like a circle conjoining the beginning to the end, and similarly making an equal compensation. Hence deeds which are the nefarious offences of impiety, which are introduced into sacred works in a disorderly manner, and which are also confusedly performed by those, who betake themselves to such works, and at one time, as it seems, cause one divinity to be present instead of another, and again introduce depraved demons instead of gods, whom they call equal to the gods (*αντιθεους*)—such deeds as these you should never adduce in a discourse concerning sacerdotal divination. For good is more contrary to evil than to that which is not good. As, therefore, the sacrilegious are in the most eminent degree hostile to the religious cultiva-

tion of the gods; thus, also, those who are conversant with demons who are fraudulent, and the causes of intemperance, are undoubtedly hostile to theurgists. For from these every depraved spirit departs, and when they are present, is entirely subverted."*

No. II.

"Of the power of the Devil in Transformations and Apparitions, and what may be believed of it, by a Christian." From St. Augustine's City of God.

"SED de ista tanta ludificatione dæmonum, nos quid dicamus, qui hæc legent: fortassis expectant, quid Christiani agere debeant, quando inter idola gentium miracula, fieri asseruntur. Et quid dicemus, nisi de medio Babylonis esse fugiendum? Quod præceptum propheticum ita spiritaliter intelligitur, ut de hujus seculi civitate quæ profectò et angelorum et hominum societas impiorum est, fidei passibus, quæ per dilectionem operatur, in Deum vivum proficiendo fugiamus, Quantò quippe in hæc ima potestatem dæmonum majorem videmus, tantò tenacius mediatori est inhærendum, per quem de imis ad summa descendimus. . . . Nec sanè dæmones naturas creant, si aliquid, tale faciunt, de qualibus. factis ista vertitur quæstio, sed specie tènus quæ à vero Deo sunt creata commutent, ut videantur esse quod non sunt. Non itaque solum animum, sed nec corpus quidem ulla ratione crediderim dæmonum arte vel potestate in membra, vel lineamenta bestialia veraciter posse converti, sed phantasticam hominis, quod etiam cogitando sive somniando per rerum

* Jamblichus on the Mysteries of the Egyptians, Chaldeans and Assyrians, translated from the Greek by Thomas Taylor, Chis. 1821, pp. 199, 200.

innumerabilia genera variatur, et quum corpus non sit, corporum tamen similes mira celeritate formas capit, sopitis aut oppressiss corporei hominis sensibus, ad aliorum sensum nescio quo ineffabili modo figura corporea posse perduci: ita ut corpora ipsa hominum alicubi jaceant, viventia quidem: sed multò gravius atque vehementius quà somno suis sensibus obseratis, Phantasticum autem illud veluti corporatum in alicujus animalis effigie apparet sensibus alienis, talisque etiam sibi homo esse videatur, sicut talis sibi videri posset in somnis, et portare onera: quæ onera si vera sunt corpora, portantur à dæmonibus, ut illudatur hominibus, partim vera onerum corpora, partim jumentorum falsa cernentibus. Nam quidam nomine Præstantius patri suo contigisse judicabat, ut venenum illud per caseum in domo sua sumeret, et jaceret in lecto suo quasi dormiens, qui tamen nullo modo poterat excitari. Post aliquot autem dies eum velut evigilasse dicebat, et quasi somnia enarrasse, quæ passus est, caballum se scilicet factum, annonam inter alia jumenta bajulasse militibus, que dicitur retica, quoniam ad retia deportatur. Quod ita ut narravit factum fuisse compertum est: quæ tamen ei sua somnia videbantur. Indicavit et alius se domi suæ per noctem antequam requiesceret vidisse venientem ad se quendam philosophum sibi notissimum, sibique exposuisse nonnulla Platonica, quæ antea rogatus exponere noluisset. Et cum ab eodem philosopho quæsitum fuisset, cur in domo ejus fecerit, quod in domo sua petenti negaverat. Non feci, inquit, sed me eam exhibitum est vigilanti, quod alter vidit in somnis. Hæc ad nos non quibuscunque qualibus credere putaremus indignum, sed eis referentibus pervenerunt, quos nobis non existimaremus fuisse mentitos. Proinde quòd homines dicuntur, mandatumque est literis à diis, vel potius dæmonibus Arcades in lupos solere converti: et quòd carminibus Circe socios mutavit Ulyssis, secundum istum modum

mihi videtur fieri potuisse, quem dixi: si tamen factum est. Diomedæas autem volucres, quando quidem genus earum per successionem propaginis durare perhibetur, non mutatis hominibus factas, sed subtractis credo fuisse suppositas, sicut cerva pro Iphigenia regis Agamemnonis filia: Neque enim dæmonibus judicio Dei permissis hujusmodi præstigiæ difficiles esse potuerunt sed quia illa virgo postea viva reperta est, suppositam pro illa cervam esse facile cognitum est. Socii vero Diomedis, quia nusquam subito comparuerunt, et postea nullo loco apperuerunt, perdentibus eos ultoribus angelis malis, in eas aves pro illis occultè ex aliis locis, ubi est quæ hoc genus avium ad ea loca perductæ sunt ac repentè supposite, creduntur esse conversi. Quod autem Diomedis in templum aquam rostris afferunt et aspergunt, et quod blandiuntur Græcigenis, alienigenas persequuntur, mirandum non est fieri de monum instinctu: quorum interest, persuadere deum factu esse Diomedem, ad decipiendos homines, ut falsos deos cum veri Dei injuria multos colant et hominibus mortuis, qui nec cum viverent, vere vixerunt templis, altaribus, sacrificiis, sacerdotibus, quæ omnia cùm recta sunt, non nisi uni Deo vivo et vero cui debentur, inserviant."*

No. III.

Connexion of the Flagellant Sect with that of the Lollards.

THERE is a remarkable passage in Gerson's treatise in reference to the Flagellants, wherein he points out various errors of the Begards of Belgium and the Lollards, which had crept into the Creed of the Flagellants. The practice of voluntary flagellation, it appears, was in vogue also with the former fanatics. Schelling (de Secta Flagell. p. 57.) concurs with other writers in opinion that the first

* Augustini de Civitate Dei; Ad Marcellinum, Lib. xviii. cap. xviii. tom. 2. p. 377.

public exhibition of this practice took place in Perugia, and he states that the invention of it was to be attributed to a certain Dominican monk named Reinher, who was living at the time of the Council of Lyons. Reinher, it is said, touched by the terrible calamities of Italy, torn by the contending factions of Guelphs and Ghibelines had devised this mode of appeasing the wrath of heaven.

L'Enfant, in his "Histoire de Concile de Constance," (4to. Amst. 1727, tome 2, p. 80) says, there is much reason to believe this Reinher was a Dominican friar, who had fallen into heresy, and after seventeen years was converted, and after his conversion wrote a book pointing out the way to discover hereticks and doctrine "sonans heresiæ." Gerson's opinion of the connexion of the Begards and Lollards with the sect of the Flagellants, and the statement in L'Enfan's History of the Council of Constance, of Reinher's connexion with the heretics of his time for seventeen years, and of being the founder of the sect of the Flagellants, excite some degree of curiosity about this person; of whom, however, no further notice is to be found in the works I have referred to. There is some reason to suspect that Reinher may be the principal subject of a very rare and singular work in 4to. illustrated with quaint representations of seers and allegorical figures, on Prognostics and Prophecies appertaining to the time of its publication, 1488.*

* The title of this work is "Prognosticatio in Latino. Rara et Prius non audita que exponit et declarat nonnullos cœli influxus et inclinationes certas constellationum magne videlicet conjunctionis et eclipsis que fuerant istis annis quid boni mali ve hoc tempore ipse in futurum huic mundo portendant durabitque pluribus annis."

The following is the colophon ón the last page: "Datum in vico Umbroso subtus Quercū Carpentuli Anno Domini M.C.C.C.C. LXXXVIII. Kalendas Aprilis p. peregrinū Ruth in nemoribus lantantem cujus oculi caligaverunt stilus tremet senio oppressus. Valeant q̄ rectè animo emēdant. Valeantq̄ ut valere pbas est qui oblatrare non cessant." The author of this book, though not given in the

After several notices of the different ways in which divining knowledge is given to man, as to Ptolemy by contemplation of the heavens, to Aristotle by deductions from astronomical and metaphysical principles, to the Sybils by way of visions or dreams, to St. Bridget by revelations: we find the following passage:

"Cui associet quidam *Reynhardus Lolhardus* ut suis locis infra patebit."

The 21st chapter begins with the words, "Reynhardus Lolhardus in revelatione suæ dicit," &c.

The last print in the work represents a begging friar, by imposture obtaining money from women, and above, in Gothic characters, these words "Hic debet stare Lulhardus et dicere versus sequentes:

"Lulhardi lollant ut nummos undique tollant ut *Reynhart* volucres, sic Lolhart fallit mulieres."

Of the dates of the predictions ascribed to Reynhardus Lolhardus and others, the date of the latest to be accomplished is 1576.

The words over the woodcut, representing a monk receiving money from two women, clearly indicates an allusion to the Lollards:

"Lulhardi lollant ut nummos undique-tollant."

Sir Henry Spelman, in his "Glossarium Archaiologicum continens Latino-Barbaro vocabula," &c. (Lond. 4to. 1654, p. 370,) on the authority of Trithemius asserts that the Lollards, (the name by which this sect was known in England about the time of Edward III.) derived their origin from Walter Lollard (Gualterus Lolhard) a German, who flourished about 1315.

work, was Johannis Lichtenberger. There have been several editions —the first (that in my possession) 1488—two at Cologne, 1526 and 1528, and an earlier one at Milan (in volgare) no date, and another at Modena, no date.

In a reeent life of Wicliff, it is stated, our English word to loll is derived from the name of this sect, whose followers were in the habit of singing psalms in a lugubrious tone of voice, which was called lolling.

Walter Lolhard perished at the stake in Cologne in 1322. The person called Reyhardus may have been named Lollard as belonging to that sect.

No. IV.

Feyjoo "Sobre La Multitud de Los Milagros."

On the evils arising from the multitude of miracles not duly authenticated—"Sobre La Multitud de Milagros," &c.*—one of the most learned men of the most learned of all the religious orders, the celebrated Benedictine Feyjoo, has written a remarkable letter, wherein the true doctrines of his church on the subject of the credit to be given to accounts of occurrences attributed to supernatural agency, and not duly authenticated, are set forth in a forcible manner, and as concisely as perspicuously:—

"Pensar, que todos los que convalecen de sus dolencias, despues de implorar à su favor la intercesison de nuestra Señora, ù de qualquier otro Santo, sanan milagrosamente, es discurrir la Omnipotencia muy prodiga, y la Naturaleza muy inepta. La baxa opinion, que el Vulgo tiene formada de esta, es muy util à los Medicos; porque, como si nada pudiesse el vigor nativo de el cuerpo, donde el Medico es llamado, siempre que el enfermo sana, se atribuye à la Medicina. A la Naturaleza se debe las mas veces la victoria; pero al Arte se da la gloria de el triunfo.

* "Cartas Eruditas, Y Curiosas." Por el Reverendissimo Padre Fray B. G. Feyjoo, Maestro General de la Religion de San Benito, 1748, Madrid, 4to. Tomo i. p. 366.

Y, ò quantas veces esta no hace mas que estorvar, y descaminar aquella! Quantas veces los errores de el Medico, parciales de la enfermedad, conspiran con ello à la ruina de el enfermo! Quantas veces por este camino, ò por este descamino, dolencias veniales se hacen mortales.

2. De este riesgo carece, à la verdad, el recurso à la intercession de los Santos, el qual nunca puede ser nocivo: y acaso entonces es mas provechoso, quando por èl no se alcanza la convalecencia deseada; siendo muy verisimil, que se aplica à algun bien de el alma aquel ruego, que se buscaba para la salud de el cuerpo. Tambien se logra esta algunas veces; pero pensar, que siempre que se logra, se logra por este medio, es un excesso de la Piedad, que pica en supersticion. Lo mismo digo de la multitud de Milagros, que el indiscreto Vulgo sueña sobre otros assumptos.

3. Pero quien es culpado en este error? El Vulgo mismo? No por cierto; sino los que, teniendo obligacion à desengañar el Vulgo, no solo le dexan en su vana aprehension, mas tal vez son Autores de el engaño: *Pastores eorum seduxerunt eos.* (Jerem. 50.) Quantos Parrocos, por interessarse en dar fama de Milagrosa à alguna Imagen de su Iglesia, le atribuyen Milagros, que no ha havido! No es mi animo comprehender à V. mrd. en esta Invectiva, porque tengo noticia de su desinterès, y buena fee. Mas no por esso le eximo de toda culpa, pues debiera tener presente para su observancia la sabia disposicion de el Santo Concilio de Trento, que manda no admitir milagro nuevo alguno, sin preceder examen, y Aprobacion de el Obispo: *Nulla etiam admittenda esse nova miracula . . . . nisi eodem recognoscente, et approbante Episcopo.* (Sess. 25. tit. de Invocatione, et Veneratione, &c.)

4 Dirà V. mrd. que tampoco otros infinitos, yà Pastores, yà no Pastores, esperan la Aprobacion de el Obispo, para creer, preconizar, y campanear nuevos Milagros, y que

apenas ha visto hasta ahora poner en practica la regla establecida por el Concilio, en orden à este punto. Creo que en esto dirà V. mrd. verdad. Pero de esta verdad me lastimo yo, y me he lastimado siempre mucho: porque de la inobservancia de aquella regla, toman ocasion los Hereges para hacer mofa de los Milagros, que califican la verdad de nuestra Religion. Como son muchos los que siendo imaginarios se publican como verdaderos, ò por un vil interès, ò por una indiscreta piedad; ellos pudieron assegurarse de la falsedad de algunos, y de aqui passan à la desconfianza de todos. No resultarìa este inconveniente, si se observasse inviolablemente la disposicion de el Concilio. Son iniquos sin duda los Hereges en atribuir al cuerpo de la Iglesia la fraudulenta ficcion, ò ciega credulidad de algunos particulares. Es visible su mala fee en esta acusacion, porque no ignoran lo que el Santo Concilio de Trento estableciò sobre el assumpto; ni tampoco ignoran, que aquel es el organo, por donde explica su mente la Iglesia Romana; mas no por esso dexan de ser muy culpables, los que con sus ficciones de Milagros dàn algun aparente pretexto à las insultantes Invectivas de nuestros Enemigos.

5. El severo cuidado, que los Padres de el Concilio quisieron se pusiesse en el examen de los milagros, muestra, que consideraron de una summa importancia para el credito de la Iglesia, evitar los fingidos; pues no contentos con intimar, que ninguno nuevo se admitiesse, sin la Aprobacion de los Obispos; añadieron, que à esta Aprobacion precediesse consulta de Varones Sabios, y Piadosos, como se vè en la Clausula immediatamente siguiente à la arriba alegada: *Qui* (Episcopus) *simul atque de his aliquid compertum habuerit, adhibitis in consilium Theologis, et aliis Piis viris, ea faciat, quæ Veritati, et Pietati consentanea judicaverit.* Donde me parecen dignas de reflexion

aquellas palabras, *Veritati, et Pietati.* El titulo hermoso de *Piedad,* es quien hace sombra à los Milagros fingidos, para que se les dè passaporte corriente en los Pueblos. Este es el Sagrado Sello, con que se imprime el silencia en los labios de todos aquellos, que enterados de la verdad, quando empieza a preconizarse algun imaginario portento, quisieran desengañar al publico. Pero es esto conforme al espiritu de la Iglesia? Antes diametralmente opuesto. La piedad, que la Iglesia pide, la que promueve en sus hijos, la que caracteriza à los verdaderos Christianos, es aquella que se junta, y hermana con la verdad, *Veritati, et Pietati.* No dixeron los Padres *Veritati, aut Pietati,* como que qualquiera de los dos titulos divisivamente bastasse para autorizar las relaciones de Milagros, sino *Veritati, et Pietati;* como que es menester que concurran unidos entrambos. Piedad opuesta à la Verdad, es una piedad vana, ilusoria, de mera perspectiva; mas propria para fomentar la supersticion, que para acreditar la Religion: *Veri adoratores adorabunt Patrem in Spiritu, et Veritate, nam et Pater tales quærit, qui adorent eum.* (Johan. cap. 4)

6. Indemniza en esta materia al rudo Vulge su sencillèz. Pero què disculpa tienen los que tal vez engañan al Vulgo, ò causando, ò fomentando su error? Doy que el fin sea bueno, no por esso la accion dexa de ser mala. Ningun Theologo negarà, que aunque huviesse entera certeza, de que con un Milagro falso se havia de convertir todo el Mundo à la Religion Catholica, no podria fingirse sin pecar; y no como quiera, sino gravemente; porque esta accion, segun los Theologos, es de su naturaleza pecado mortal de aquella especie de supersticion, que llaman *Culto indebido.* Què hacemos, pues, con que el fin de inventar, ò publicar un Milagro falso, sea autorizar de milagrosa alguna Imagen, ò promover el culto de el Santo representado en ella? Abominable serà en los ojos de Dios la

ficcion, y merecedora de la condenacion eterna, si no la disculpa la ignorancia.

7. Pero mas abominable serà, si procede de el motivo de algun interès temporal, como sin duda sucede algunas veces. En el Concilio Senonense, celebrado en el año 1528. se halla un Decreto, (y es el 40. de los pertenecientes *ad mores*) que establece en orden à la admission de Milagros nuevos, lo mismo que despues para toda la Iglesia ordenò el Tridentino. Solo tiene de particular un a expression, que supone, que muy ordinariamente la codicia es quien excita à la invencion de Milagros apocryphos. El Decreto es como se signe: *Ex Multorum fida relatione didicimus, simplicem populum aliquando levi assertione miraculorum ad unum, et alterum locum, populariter concurrisse, candelas, et alia vota obtulisse. Ut igitur credulæ simplicitati nobis commissæ plebis consulamus, et novis, impudentibusque hominum mente corruptorum ad quæstum occasionibus obviemus, sacro approbante Provinciali Concilio, districtè prohibemus, ne quis posthac miraculum de novo factum prætendat: nevè intra, aut extra Ecclesiam, Titulum, Capellam, ant Altare prætextu novi miraculi erigat, aut populi concursum in miraculi gratiam, et venerationem recipiat: nisi prius loci Episcopus de negotio quid sentiendum, tenendumque sit, causa cognita, decreverit.*

8. En este contexto se proponen dos motivos de el Decreto: el primero, precaber el error de el simple Vulgo en creer Milagros falsos: el segundo, quitar la ocasion à las detestables negociaciones de hombres corrompidos, que hacen pabulo de su codicia la ficcion de Milagros. En la expression de el primer motivo se vè, que los Padres de el Concilio no miraron, como conveniente para el servicio, y gloria de Dios, dexar à la plebe continuar en aquel error; antes consideraron su vana creencia, como una enfermedad espiritual à que se debia aplicar remedio.

De aqui se colige, quan descaminados vàn aquellos, que quando se esparce en el Pueblo algun Milagro falso, si alguno, averiguada la patraña, quiere desengañar el publico, revestidos de una espiritualidad engañosa, se le oponen, diciendo, que se debe dexar al publico en su buena fee; que aquella creencia, aunque mal fundada, enfervoriza su piedad; que con ella se firma mas en los animos la Religion; que en esse error se interessa la gloria, y culto de Dios, y de sus Santos. O Protectores de el embuste, con capa de zelo: *Numquid Deus indiget vestro mendacio, ut pro illo loquamini dolos?* (Job. cap. 13.)

9. En la expression de el segundo motivo, sobradamente dàn à conocer aquellos Padres, que la ansia de un vil interès, es quien impele no pocas vezes à la fabrica de Milagros falsos, en que de muchos modos pueden hallar su ganancia los Artifices, como à qualquiera serà facil discurrir; aunque por la mayor parte pienso, que solo un zelo falso, ò piedad indiscreta interviene en estas ilusiones, haciendo tomar por verdadero prodigio qualquiera leve apariencia de Milagro. Pero que proceda de este, que de aquel principio, todo hombre imbuìdo de sòlida piedad, debe interessarse en que se observe el Santo Concilio de Trento. La Iglesia, dirigida siempre por el Espiritu Santo, sabe lo que conviene à la gloria de Dios, al culto de los Santos, à la edificacion de los Fieles, aumento de la Piedad, y firmeza de la Religion.

10. Como V. mrd. ni por el expressado motivo de interès, ni por otro alguno vicioso, (à lo que yo creo) fino con muy buena fee, ha calificado de milagrosas las muchas curaciones, de que me habla en su Carta, es natural, que desengañado yà, en virtud de mis razones, desee alguna regla para discernir las curaciones sobre naturales, de las que se deben à la Naturaleza, ò à la Medicina. Y no puedo yo dat le otra, ni mas adequada, ni mas segura, que

la que, siendo aun Cardenal, y poco antes de subir al Solio Pontificio, manifestò al publico nuestro Santissimo Padre Benedicto Decimoquarto en el tomo 4. de su grande Obra *de Servorum Dei Beatificatione, et Beatorum Canonizatione.* En la noticia de este Tomo, que dàn los Autores de las Memorias de Trevoux, en el mes de Marzo de el año 1740. he visto copiada dicha regla, la qual consta de las siguientes advertencias.

11. La primera, que la enfermedad curada sea grave, y naturalmente incurable, ò por lo menos de muy dificil curacion. La segunda, que no vaya en declinacion. La tercera, que no se hayan hecho remedios; ò que si se hicieron, no hayan tenido efecto. La quarta, que la curacion, sea repentina, ò instantanea, y jüntamente total, ò perfecta. La quinta, que no haya precedido crise natural. La sexta, que sea constante, ò durable; esto es, sin recaida.

No. V.

THE WITCHCRAFT MANIA IN AMERICA.

The Pilgrim Fathers carried with them from England their fanaticism as well as their faith, and the persecution they endured in their own country only served to render that fanaticism more ferocious in their exile than it had originally been. Their opinions on the subject of witchcraft they certainly carried with them from their own land. Before I enter on the subject of their action on those opinions in the land of their adoption, it will be necessary to refer briefly to the laws against witchcraft that were in force in England at the period of their exile, but it is not requisite in this work to enter into any detailed account of the proceedings against persons accused of sorcery in England and Scotland, as such details abound in other works easily accessible to English readers.

England, Scotland and Wales have not been exempt from the epidemic mania of various kinds, national delusions on the subject of witchcraft, and periodical outbreaks of religious morbid enthusiasm and fanaticism.

England has had her Jumpers, her Johanna Southcote-Shiloh-begetting believers, her Thom of Canterbury worshippers and infatuated followers, her Agapemones and Saturnalian orgies. Scotland and Wales have had their revivals as well as America, their extravagances and furious paroxysms of excitement and wild enthusiasm.

The Witchcraft mania began in England later than in most other parts of Europe, and while it lasted, which it did till the beginning of the 18th century, it raged with no less virulence than on the Continent.

The practice of taking off people obnoxious to those in authority, Civil or Ecclesiastical, on charges of sorcery

dispensed with legal sanctions till the latter part of 1541. Several cases however occurred of accusations of sorcery in England previous to that period.

"In 1441 the Duke of Gloucester," says Hutchinson, "uncle to Henry VI., *preferred articles against his great uncle the Cardinal.* The Cardinal found nothing to return upon him in requital, but accused his Duchess for seeking the king's death by sorcery."

The Duchess was cast into prison and condemned to do penance. Margery Gurdeman, her supposed accomplice, "was burnt for a witch in Smithfield." Roger Bullingbrook was hanged, "but declared that the Duchess had only desired to know how long the king would live." Thomas Southwell, another of the supposed accomplices, died the night before his appointed execution, and Roger Only, another supposed accomplice was hanged, as we find set forth in Baker's Chronicle, pp. 187, 201. And five years later the Duke himself was murdered by his enemies, as Speed, Baker, and other later historians affirm.

But who was the Cardinal, who had all these judicial and extra-judicial murders to answer for?

Why, the same Lord Cardinal Beaufort who had assisted at the judicial murder of Jeanne d'Arc, at Rouen, on another charge of sorcery, in 1430.

In 1483 Richard III. found it necessary to deal with his enemies in the same way as my Lord Cardinal had done. He attainted the Countess of Richmond, mother of Henry VII. Morton, afterwards Archbishop of Canterbury, Dr. Lewis, and William Knevet, of sorcery.

In 1534 Elizabeth Barton, the Maid of Kent, for speaking against the marriage of King Henry VIII., was hanged, with seven others "that had managed her fits to the disturbance of the state."*

* Hutchinson's Witchcraft, p. 24.

In 1541 the Earl of Hungerford was beheaded on a charge of sorcery, "for procuring certain persons to conjure that they might know how long Henry VIII. should live."*

And yet up to that time there was no law on the Statute Book against Witchcraft. But subsequently to the last mentioned judicial murder in the reign of Henry VIII. two Acts of Parliament were enacted the same year 1541, one against *false prophets*, the other against *conjurations, witchcrafts, sorcery and pulling down crosses.* The penalties of the law against sorcery extended however only to injury to life by means of witchcraft.

In 1562 a formal statute of Elizabeth against sorcery, as penal in itself, was passed. The penalty was limited to the pillory in the first instance. The crime was declared one of the greatest guilt, whether it was attended with injury to life or not. Inquisitorial powers were given to the Prelates to act against suspected sorcerers. We find the prelates in their articles of visitation, directing inquiry to be made after those who should use enchantments or any like craft of sorcery *invented by the devil.*

From that time the witchcraft mania raged in England and Scotland with great violence.

Bishop Jewell, in 1598, fearful lest the Queen's zeal against witchcraft should relax, in a sermon before her Majesty, addressing the Queen, said,

"It may please your Grace to understand that witches and sorcerers, within the last four years, are marvellously increased within this your Grace's realm. Your Grace's subjects pine away even unto the death; their colour fadeth—their flesh rotteth—their speech is benumbed—their senses are bereft! I pray God they may never practise further than upon the subject!"

* Hutchinson's Witchcraft, p. 25.

King James I. was no sooner seated on the English throne than he had a statute passed against witchcraft in the first year of his reign, declaring the crime felony, without benefit of clergy. This statute made the practice of any art of sorcery, without reference to any ulterior object, a capital felony. This was worthy of the royal author of a trumpery work on Demonology.

The Act of James I. against witchcraft (1 chap. xii) was passed when Lord Bacon was a member of the House of Commons, and Lord Coke was Attorney General. That Act was referred in the House of Lords to a Committee which had the spiritual assistance and guidance of twelve bishops of the Church of England.

Witchcraft in England and Scotland differed in no material point from that of the Continent. In all European countries the same absurd opinions and insane ideas prevailed as to the power of impious and malicious people, especially of old women, to effect supernatural mischief, to fly through space, to change themselves into dogs, cats, wolves and goats, to kill, worry, or terrify men, women, and children for their pastime, and to feed on the flesh of the latter at horrid banquets presided over by devils.

This clumsy machinery of European sorcery was well known to the mightiest of all magicians, who at will could conjure up the weird sisters on the "blasted heath," and hold familiar converse with those

> "Secret black and midnight hags,"

and who

> "Now about the cauldron sing
> Like elves and fairies in a ring,
> Enchanting all that they put in."

That great wizard initiates us into all the mysteries of that witchcraft, of which we meet with such frequent glimpses in the records of the judicial proceedings against the

demon worshippers, and sorcerers of all European countries of many ages.

We have the witches meeting at his bidding upon the heath:

"In thunder, lightning, and in rain;"

boasting of infernal exploits, trading in "riddles and affairs of death;" "spiteful and wrathful," "the close contrivers of all harms," riding in the air, spending the night in conjurations, all tending "to a dismal and a fatal end," and by the strength of the illusion, "leading men on to their confusion," rendering them sleepless, mocking and deceiving them, causing the bark of the mariner to be "tempest tossed," "exulting in their power to do mischief," "to untie the winds, confound and swallow navigators up," to lodge the faded corn and blow down trees, and steeples. We have the incantation

"For a charm of powerful trouble."
"Round about the cauldron go;
In the poisoned entrails throw.
Toad, that under coldest stone,
Days and nights hast thirty-one
Sweltered venom sleeping got,
Boil thou first in the charm'd pot!"

All the other necessary ingredients to make "a hell broth," we find judiciously mingled among them: "fillet of a fenny snake," "toe of frog," "adder's fork," "blindworm's sting," "lizard's leg," "owlet's wing," "scale of dragon," "tooth of wolf," "root of hemlock digg'd in the dark," "finger of birth-strangled babe," "sow's blood that hath eaten her nine farrow," "grease that's sweaten'd from the murderer's brow."

If Shakspeare had ransacked all the arsenals of witchcraft lore, had made himself intimately acquainted with the "Maleus Maleficarum," of that worthy Inquisitor, Fra

Jacobus Sprenger, the "Formicularum de Maleficis et eorum Deceptionibus," of the renowned Dominican Fra Joannis Nider, Inquisitor insignis, with "Le Monde enchante," of Bekker, or the "Discours Execrables des Sorciers," of the famous Boguet, Grand Juge de Bourgogne, for his choice collection of witchcraft pastimes, devilries, and delicate inventions for the banquets and the orgies of witches' sabbaths.

Unfortunately, there are other records besides poetical passages from the works of an immortal playwright, relating to English and Scotch witchcraft; records of judicial proceedings in the cases of hundreds and thousands even of wretched creatures, sacrificed to the demon of the prevalent fanaticism of those times.

The records of those proceedings are written in blood, and they abound with proof that fanaticism is a plant not of one clime or soil, or sect, but one that flourishes in all lands, and in all religions, at particular periods modified by the peculiar circumstances of each creed and country, but not essentially altered in character by them.

They prove that human nature has its infirmities in England as well as in France, or Germany, or Italy, or Spain and Portugal, and that people of the Anglo-Saxon race in former times did not, more than any other,

"Rein up the organs of their fantasies."

"Barrington, in his observations on the ancient statutes, page 407 * (on statutes made at Westminster, temp. 20, Hen. VI. 1442), in a note that has reference to the case of the Duchess of Gloucester, first charged with treason and afterwards with necromancy, observes:—Dr. Grey in his notes on Hudibras, mentions that Hopkins, the noted

* Observations on the more ancient statutes from Magna Charta to 21st James I. cap. 27. By Hon. Daines Barrington, 4th Ed. 1775.

witch-finder, hanged sixty suspected witches in one year. He also cites Hutchinson on Witchcraft for 30,000 having been burned within 150 years."

According to Dalyell, at particular periods the executions in Scotland far exceeded those in England. "But it is probable," he says, "that a greater number perished in Scotland during a single year, 1662 especially, considering that above 150 then accused are known. On the 13th of Sept. 1678, ten women were brought to the bar of the Court of Justiciary, nine of whom were condemned to be burned, and on the very day that this bloody tribunal sanctioned their slaughter, other nine were outlawed."* One hundred and seventy-eight years only have elapsed since these nine cases of women burning occurred in Scotland.

A writer on the superstitions of Scotland states, that "superstitions are unnoticed in the earliest Scottish criminal trials comprehending the years 1493 and 1504, nor is it evident that any special enactment enjoined interference previous to a statute of 1563. It is affirmed also that one particular portion of the law relative to consultation "with sorcerers, witches or soothsayers, was not in operation until the year 1590."†

Pinkerton (vol. i. p. 291) says, "the earliest conviction on a charge involving sorcery was in the year 1470, for consuming a waxen image of the King."

In Howell's Letters we find an account of trials, condemnations and executions, on an extensive scale in England. It is there stated that in 1646 two hundred persons were tried, condemned, and executed for witchcraft at the Sussex and Essex Assizes.

The last person burned to death for witchcraft in England

* Dalyell, p. 669.

† "The Darker Superstitions of Scotland," by John Graham Dalyell, F.A.S.E. Glasg. 1835, p. 618.

is stated by a writer in the "Notes and Queries," as he believes, to have been at Bury St. Edmunds, in 1664,* the case being tried by Sir Matthew Hale. The victims executed were Amy Duny and Rose Callendar. The writer is mistaken in his statement of the last victim of the burning barbarity of English law for witchcraft being in 1664.

Hutchinson, in his "Historical Essay concerning Witchcraft," which was published in 1718, in his chronological table of executions and prosecutions for witchcraft, date 1682, says—"Susan Edwards, Mary Trembles, and Temperance Lloyd, confessed themselves witches, but died with good prayers in their mouths. I suppose these are the last three that have been hanged in England."†

The last case of strangling and burning a woman for witchcraft in Scotland occurred in 1722, at Sutherland, little more than a century ago, "The victim was an insane old woman," we are told by Sir Walter Scott, "belonging to the parish of Loth, and who had so little idea of her situation, as to rejoice at the sight of the fire, that was destined to consume her."‡

The various tests recognised in England as presumptions confirmatory of the repute of sorcery were no less barbarous than those of other continental countries: they comprised pricking the flesh of the accused or suspected, "scratching the witch," as this test was called, the watery ordeal, in frequent use about 1690, "trying" for the witch's mark, shaving off the hair of the accused, "watching for the discovery of witches," by keeping them awake for days and nights, by walking them continuously, seating them in constrained and painful positions for many hours, in various

* Notes and Queries, vol. vi. November, 1853, p. 470.

† Hutchinson on Witchcraft, p. 41.

‡ Letters on Demonology and Witchcraft, 1830, p. 338.

other tortures; by application of "the finger-stocks" and "thumb-locks," and "pyrewinks."

Inability to shed tears or blood was an evidence of the guilt of persons suspected of witchcraft.

In Scotland the tests were had recourse to with still more barbarity.

"In 1722 (says Dalyell) a reputed witch was burnt in the soles of the feet, and executed. Fire matches were frequently used to extort confessions."*

"John Kincaid (says the same author) the celebrated pricker, was imprisoned, for taking upon him, of his own authority, 'to prick and try those persons who are suspect (of witchcraft), whereby, in all probability, many innocents have suffered;" and although liberated on condition of abstaining from similar offences, another is said (by Gardiner) to have been condemned for such like villainie exercised in Scotland: and upon the gallows he confessed he had been the death of above an hundred and twenty women in England and Scotland."†

In 1751, a rabble in Staffordshire undertook the administration of mob-law, for the discovery and punishment of witches: in the case of an aged couple, named Osborn, who resided near Tring, and had fallen under the suspicion of witchcraft. The unfortunate old couple were seized by an organized gang, conducted to a pond, and subjected to the swimming ordeal. They were dragged through the water under the superintendence of a brute in the human form (as we are told by Scott) who, after the woman had lost her life during the dragging process, and through the ineffable brutality of the rabble, went among the spectators, and solicited money for the sport he had shewn the people.

This was only 105 years ago, but the barbarity was too

* "The Darker Superstitions of Scotland." p. 657.

† Ib. p. 643.

much, at the beginning of the 18th century. The fanaticism of the Royal pedant was on the wane in England. Three of the ringleaders of the rabble, by whom the old woman was murdered, were tried for that outrage, and one of them named Colley was condemned and hanged, to the great disgust of the townspeople of the murderer, and at the place of execution abused those who had any hand "in putting to death an honest fellow, for ridding the parish of an accursed witch." The Government judging, that this brutal practice of swimming aged people on suspicion of witchcraft, was traceable to the unabolished statute of James I. against witchcraft, took immediate steps for the removal of this odious act, and it was accordingly abrogated *in England*, by the 9th of George II. cap. 5. From that time witchcraft in England may date its downfall. But sorcery continued to be a legal crime in Ireland, till a recent period.

The 28th of Elizabeth, chap. 2, against sorcery, enacted by the Irish Parliament, was repeated by 1 and 2 George IV. chap. 18, and James I.'s Act against sorcery, also enacted in Ireland, was repealed by the 10th George IV. chap. 34.

The last authenticated instance of the swimming ordeal in England occurred in 1785, and is quoted from a Northampton Mercury of that year: "A poor woman named Sarah Bradshaw, of Mears Ashby, who was accused of being a witch, in order to prove her innocence, submitted to the ignominy of being dipped, when she was immediately taken to the bottom of the pond, which was deemed to be an incontestable proof that she was no witch."*

The legal punishment of females, convicted of high treason, and petty treason, was burning; coining was held high treason; and murder of a husband was petty treason.

The barbarity of augmenting the penalty of capital crime

* Notes and Queries, vol. vi. November, 1853, p. 470.

in the case of females is not much mitigated by the feelings of delicacy which, we are told by a great lawyer, dictated a procedure worthy of what the enlightened and humane Sir Benjamin Hammett, designated in his place in the House of Commons, the 10th May, 1790, "*the savage remains of Norman policy disgracing our Statute Book, as the practice did the Common Law.*"

"In treason of every kind," says Blackstone, "the punishment of woman is the same, and different from man. *For as the decency due to the sex forbids the exposing and publicly mangling their bodies*, which is to the full as terrible to sensation, as the other is to be drawn to the gallows, and there to be burned alive. . . ."

And elsewhere he observes:

"The humanity of the English nation has authorized by a tacit consent an almost general mitigation of such part of those judgments as savours of torture and cruelty: *a sledge or hurdle being usually allowed* to such traitors as are condemned to be drawn; and there being very few instances (and these accidental or by negligence) of any person being embowelled or burned *till they are previously deprived of sensation* by strangling."

There is something very striking, and perhaps to legal minds very admirable, in the cool, imperturbable, unimpassioned professional sangfroid, with which great lawyers who become judges, expatiate on the working of sanguinary statutes, on the humanity for instance of burning women's bodies from a regard for propriety, for "the decency due to the sex," on the humanity exhibited in tying a woman to a stake surrounded by faggots and strangling her first, and then burning the still quivering remains to ashes.

Your great Judges have been bad guardians of the interests of humanity, as well as of those of liberty, in past

times, and even down to the beginning of our own age. Happily for the former interests, a member of the House of Commons, whose name should be remembered with more honour than that of Chief Justice Hale, Sir Benjamin Hammett on the 10th of May, 1790, obtained leave for altering this atrocious law, which Blackstone could not bring himself to denounce, and in that session the Act 30 Geo. III. c. 48 was passed, which removed from the Criminal Code of England one of the savage remains of Norman policy that disgraced the Statute Book.

In November, 1726, Katharine Hayes of *Tyburn*, now Oxford Road, was literally burned alive at Tyburn for the murder of her husband. The usual practice of strangling the female culprit first, and then burning the dead body, was not carried into effect in this instance. "Katharine Hayes," says Mr. Charles Ross, "was executed at Tyburn under circumstances of great horror, for in consequence of the fire reaching the executioner's hands he left his hold of the rope with which he ought to have strangled the criminal, before he had executed that part of his duty, and the result was that Katharine Hayes was burned alive. The wretched woman was seen in the midst of flames pushing the blazing faggots from her while she yelled in agony: fresh faggots were piled around her, but it was a considerable time before her torments ended."*

In the Gentleman's Magazine (Chronicle for March, 1789) under date 18th of March, an account is given of the execution of six persons. Two were condemned for coining, Joseph Walker and Jane Grace. Walker was hanged with the other five, "but the woman for coining was brought out after the rest were turned off, and fixed to a stake and burnt, being first strangled by the stand being taken from under her."

* Notes and Queries, vol. ii. June, 1850, p. 50.

A writer in the Notes and Queries, who signs himself Octogenarius, vol. ii. p. 261, states he was present when the above-mentioned execution took place; and in the following year heard sentence passed on another female coiner, that she should be "drawn to the place of execution and there burnt with fire till she was dead."

The last case of woman-burning in London, and in all probability in England, occurred only sixty-seven years ago. A woman was strangled and burned for coining in front of Newgate on the 10th of March, 1789.

"The Cork Remembrancer, or Historical Register," by John Fitzgerald (12mo. Cork, 1783, the original edition) contains several notices of the burning of women, some of which are not to be found in the later mutilated reprints.

Under date 1712 we have the following:—"Wednesday, May 7, Mary Easberry was burnt at Gallows Green for poisoning her husband, Daniel Easberry, tallow chandler, who lived in Paul St."

Under date 1731—"Timothy Croneen. for the murder of Andrew St. Leger, Esq. and his wife, was hanged, quartered and beheaded at Gallows Green the 25th of January. . . . Joan Condon, for the same murder, was burnt the Saturday following."

Under date 1758—"Johanna Keoghane for the murder of James O'Hea, Esq., and Catherine Sheehan for the murder of her aunt near Macromp, were burnt at Gallows Green on Saturday the 26th of August, 1758. Catherine Sheehan was under sentence of death since August 1755, and Johanna Keoghane since March, 1757, and avoided execution on account of their different pregnancies."

Under date 1760—"Mary Cassady, for the murder of her step-son, Hugh Cassady, was burnt at Gallows Green on Saturday, the 12th of April, 1760."

Under date 1773—"Mary Smith and Mary Sullivan,

burnt at Gallows Green the 2nd of October, for the murder of their husbands."

Under date 1781—"Julian[na] Geran and John Daly were executed at Gallows Green, Easter Monday, the 16th of April, for the murder of James Geran, husband to said Julian[na]; the former was hanged and burnt, the latter had his head severed from his body."

The execution by burning of Julianna Geran, in 1781, is the last recorded burning of a woman to be found in Fitzgerald's Remembrancer, and in all probability is the last case of woman-burning that took place in Ireland.

The Notes and Queries (vol. vi. July 1852, p. 33,) states, that "a gentleman was still alive, or was so very lately, who saw the last woman who was burned in Dublin, at the place of public execution, which was where the fashionable street called Fitzwilliam Street now is."

The great majority of the persons put to death for sorcery on the Continent were women. The Inquisition was composed of ecclesiastics who were under vows of celibacy. The fact will be considered explanatory in these countries of the low estimate of the female character which an unmarried clergy was likely to form of the sex in general, and of the calamitous results of extravagant opinions of the merits of their separation from female influences. But how does it come to pass that the clergy who were relieved from such restraints in the reigns of Elizabeth, James the First, and the first and second Charles, in England and Scotland, adopted the same opinion and acted on it in all their relations with the State in regard to criminal prosecutions on the charge of sorcery?

The great majority of those tried, condemned, strangled and burned on charges of witchcraft in England and Scotland were women. The fact is incontrovertible, yet not in accordance either with the presumed tendencies of the

faith of those countries, the circumstances of their clergy, or peculiarities of the national character of the people of either of them.

The Inquisitors are very explicit in their writings on the subject of their experience of the presumed liability of women to the diabolical influences of sorcery as being far greater than that of men. Their arguments, happily for humanity, are not conclusive, otherwise one half the human race would be in a perilous condition. The powers of witchery, however, of a large portion of that half which Sprenger, Institor, and Nider have looked on with so much alarm, no doubt are very considerable even in this nineteenth century.

Two friars of the names of Henry Institor and James Sprenger, were specially charged with the execution of the celebrated Bull of Pope Innocent III. against German sorcerers (1484). Both of the monks were of the Dominican order, Professors of Theology, of great eminence, and they were honoured moreover with the title "Inquisitores Hereticæ Pravitatis."

The terrible experience of those inquisitors and "*the sacred science*" appertaining to their office, is embodied in the first volume of a work, entitled "Maleus Maleficarum.*

At page 63 we find that terrible experience and sacred science brought to bear on the question—How it happens that the great majority of persons addicted to sorcery are women? And we find the reason is, that women are naturally more prone to evil of various kinds than men. They prove this from several writers, Christian and Pagan. They enlist the services of St. Chrysostom even on the side of these terrible opinions of the nature and disposition of women. And they boldly enquire:

* "Maleus Maleficarum." Auctores 1^{mi} Tomi Fr. Jac. Sprenger et Fr. Hen. Institor, Lugd. 1520.

"What else is a woman but an inimical amity, a pain not to be put to flight, a necessary evil, a natural temptation, a desirable calamity, a domestic danger, a delectable mischief, an evil of nature, painted in fine colours."

The poor laity are further enlightened on this interesting subject by the venerable "Inquisitores Hereticæ Pravitatis," happily for them by their state of celibacy safe from all the dangers they so feelingly describe. There is no riddance, they say, from torments, occasioned by those evils of nature: "Ergo si dimittere illam peccatum est cum opportet tenere, jam vero tormentum necessarium est, ut aut dimittentis adulteria faciamus: aut quotitianas pugnas habeamus."*

These eminent Doctors in theology, fearful lest they should not have sufficiently explained themselves, add:— "It is shewn in the case of the first woman, that naturally a woman has less faith (than a man); when replying to the interrogating serpent who asked why they did not eat of the fruit of all the trees in Paradise; she said if we eat of all perhaps we shall not die; it is shewn she doubted, and had not faith in the words of God. Which fact the etymology of the name (woman) demonstrates. For a woman is called (in the Latin tongue) fœmina, from *Fe* and *Minus*, because she always has less faith, and serves less faithfully."†

* "Quid aliud est mulier nisi amicitiæ inimica ineffugabilis pœna, necessarium malum, naturalis tentatio, desiderabilis calamitas, domesticum periculum, delectabile detrimentum, malum naturæ, bono colore depicta."—*Malleus Maleficarum*, Lugd. 1620, p. 63.

† "Patet in prima muliere, quod ex natura, minorem habet fidem. Cum dixit serpenti interroganti, quare non ederent de omni ligno paradisi? Respondit de omni, et ne fortè moriamur: in quo ostendit se dubitare, et fidem non habere ad verba Dei; quæ omnia etiam Etymologia nominis demonstrat. Dictur enim Fœmina a Fè, et minus: quia semper minorem habet et servat fidem."—*Malleus Maleficarum*, p. 65.

But it will be consolatory to the friends of the female sex to learn that these worthy gentlemen of the Inquisition are of opinion there have been in the world a few exceptions to this general rule in ancient times—namely, Judith, Deborah, and Esther—and one above all who, by special grace, was excellent.

Fra. Joannis Nider of the Dominican order, another renowned inquisitor of the same era, in his "Formicarium de Maleficiis Decepta," published in the first volume of the "Maleus Maleficorum," at page 513, gives the first passage as above cited from Sprenger and Institor, "Quid aliud est mulier"—word for word—and the importance he attaches to it is indicated by these marginal words:—"Mulier necessarium mali naturalis tentatio."

May we not conclude that fanaticism is a sturdy plant of the same quick growth and development, sombre leaves and bitter fruits in every soil, where its roots strike deep and the mould is rank about them. One too, as we shall find, that bears transplanting, and will flourish anywhere, beside a Church that is in alliance with the State, or that has suffered persecution and acquired the power of persecuting in its turn.

With these preliminary observations we may now proceed to the subject of the Witchcraft Mania in New England.

"The project of settling the country north of Florida would have been abandoned, or deferred to a distant day, had pecuniary gain or domestic comfort been the only incitements: what nature seemed to deny, human artifice or rather human cruelty supplied. Through a mistaken or a pretended love of God, the men of Europe persecuted each other, until the worsted party was compelled to seek refuge in the uncultivated wilds of America. To persecution on account of religion more than to any other cause,

may be ascribed, that the American country north of Florida contains a population of twelve millons of persons natives of Europe, or descendants of European parents. Can it be believed, future generations will totally discredit the fact, that the persecuted who fled from Europe to the wretched asylum offered by America, became the persecutors of each other? If we except the Quakers of Pennsylvania, and the Catholics of Maryland, the spirit of fanaticism and of persecution for conscience sake, was too apparent throughout. This however was less prevalent in the southern than in the northern portion of this country. The tract to which the name of "New England" was given by one of the early explorers of America, comprehending the country north-east of the Dutch colony of New York, and bounded by the river St. Lawrence on the north, was the most remarkable for the zeal with which its inhabitants carried on the work of *holy* persecution."*

Bancroft tells us, "The settlement of New England was a result of the Reformation, not of the contest between the new opinions and the authority of Rome, but of implacable differences between Protestant dissenters and the Anglican Church.† Puritanism, with Calvin for its apostle, waged war on Protestantism as established by Luther. Elizabeth during her long reign protected the latter, and persecuted the former. James I. "in Scotland had solemnly declared his attachment to the Puritan discipline and doctrines, but it was from the fear of open resistance." . . . "His mind had been early and deeply imbued with the doctrines of Calvinism, but he loved arbitrary power better than the doctrines of Knox,

* The Inquisition examined by an impartial Reviewer. New York, 1825, p. 11.

† History of the United States from the discovery of the American Continent. By George Bancroft, Vol. i. p. 2.

and when the Arminians favoured royalty, King James became an Arminian."* The borders of Scotland had been hardly passed however, before James began to identify the interests of the English Church with those of her prerogative. In 1694 he had a conference with the Puritans at Hampton in the presence of the Protestant bishops, on which occasion he astounded the Puritans with a declaration of his intended line of conduct towards them. "I will have none of that liberty as to ceremonies; I will have one doctrine, one discipline, one religion in substance and in ceremony. Never more speak to that point how far you are bound to obey." . . . Turning to the bishops he said, "I will make them, the Puritans, conform, or I will harry them out of the land."

He kept his royal word. He did harry a great number of the Puritans out of the land.

"On the last day of the conference he defended the necessity of subscription, concluding that, 'if any would not be quiet and shew their obedience, they were worthy to be hanged.'" During this conference Bishop Bancroft on his knees said, God had given England such a king as has not been; and in relation to this conference, a little later, James boasted in a letter to a friend, that "he had soundly peppered off the Puritans."†

In 1604, above three hundred Puritan ministers are said to have been sentenced to imprisonment or exiled. But this statement is believed to be an exaggeration. James became a persecutor of the Puritans, a great many in 1607 fled to Holland where their discipline prevailed, and was protected. There they were received as "Pilgrims."

Among the most successful of the Puritans, was a man named Robert Brown, a republican in principle. Bold in

* Ib. Vol. i. p. 222. † Ib. Vol. i. p. 225.

his attack on the Established Church, and possessing a very insinuating address, he collected followers with great rapidity, and had he persevered might possibly have shaken the mighty fabric of Protestantism: while others of his party were persecuted, the popularity of Brown seemed to protect him against the advocates of the High Church. The Government, before it would resort to the desperate expedient of a personal attack, had resort to an experiment on his virtue; Brown was not proof against a bribe, he was offered, and he accepted a comfortable benefice, and became a staunch Protestant. His followers had already taken the title of *Brownists*, and by this name they continued to be known notwithstanding the defection of their leader.

The Brownists or a considerable number of them fled to Holland, under the guidance of John Robinson their newly elected chief.

At Leyden the pilgrims became a large community—"a multitude." In 1620, after protracted negotiations with the English Government, a considerable number of the English Puritans residing in Leyden took their departure for the New World, and formed the first colony of New England, thirteen years after the first British colonization of Virginia. From the period of the pilgrims landing at Plymouth, for some years, their sufferings and privations from scarcity of food and hardships of various kinds, were very great. But neither these sufferings nor the persecution they had endured at home and fled from, sufficed eventually to restrain a fierce spirit of fanaticism in the new Puritan settlement in New England; and by various accessions to their numbers from England of Calvinists, cruelly persecuted, the title of Pilgrim fathers swelled into "the United Colonies of New England."

In 1656 the Puritans of Boston, who had quit their own land for the sake of liberty of conscience, became relentless

persecutors. Two women of the sect of Quakers, Mary Fisher and Anne Austin, arrived on the roads before Boston. "There was as yet no statute respecting Quakers; but on the general law against heresy their trunks were searched and their books burned by the hangman." Though no token could be found on them but of innocence, "their persons were examined in search of signs of witchcraft, and after five weeks of imprisonment they were thrust out of the jurisdiction.* In 1657 a law was in force against Quakers. A Quaker woman who had come all the way from London to give spiritual advice to the magistrates and counsel against persecution, was whipped with twenty stripes; some who had been banished on coming back a second time were imprisoned, whipped, and again sent away.

"A fine was imposed on such as should entertain any 'of the accursed sect,' and a Quaker after the first conviction was to lose one ear, after a second another ear, after a third to have his tongue bored with a red hot iron."† The Government of Massachusetts by an ordinance banished all Quakers from that settlement on pain of death. Four persons were put to death in 1659 for violating this law. And these doings were not in a colony for trade, but in "a religious plantation."

"Witchcraft," says Bancroft, "had not been made the subject of sceptical consideration, *and in the years* in which Scotland sacrificed hecatombs to the delusion, there were three victims in New England. Dark crimes that seemed without a motive may have been pursued under that name; I find one record of a trial for witchcraft, where the prisoner was proved a murderess."‡

Fredet, in his Modern History observes:—"The same

* Ib. Vol. i. p. 339. † Ib. Vol. i. p. 339. ‡ Ib. Vol. i. p. 348.

benevolent and mild spirit of Catholicity has been also strikingly displayed on this side of the Atlantic. To prove this, we need merely refer to the History of the Settlers of Maryland, the only one of the early British colonies that was founded by a body of Catholics." "Its history," says Bancroft (*Vol. I.* p. 268), "is the history of benevolence, gratitude, and toleration. . . . The Roman Catholics who were oppressed by the laws of England, were sure to find a peaceful asylum in the quiet harbours of the Chesapeak; and there, too, Protestants were sheltered against Protestant intolerance." (See also Wilson, *Amer. Revol.* ch. 11, p. 21).

"Whilst the Episcopalians of Virginia would suffer no other form of worship than their own; whilst the Puritans of New England punished with exile, fines, or tortures, the dissenters from their creed; the Catholics of Maryland alone, instead of imitating the example, invited the sufferers to come among them, and kindly received into their hospitable colony the victims of intolerance from the other settlements." *Fredet's Modern History*, 10th ed. p. 519.

In 1688, in that New England, which, like Canaan had been settled by fugitives, whose leading religious doctrines had received a deeper colouring from the Jewish code than from the Christian dispensation; the belief in witchcraft prevailed, and in all probability had prevailed from the beginning of the settlement. The daughter of a man named John Goodwin, a child of thirteen years of age, accused a laundress, named Glover, of stealing clothes. The laundress rebuked the girl, who immediately *felt* that she was bewitched. The contagion of the supposed sorcery spread rapidly. Three others of the family, the youngest, a boy under five years old, were strangely disordered, and were declared likewise to be bewitched.

"They would affect to be deaf," says Bancroft, "then

dumb, then blind, or all three at once; they would bark like dogs, or purr like so many cats; but they ate well and slept well.' Cotton Mather went to prayer by the side of one of them, and lo! the child lost her hearing till prayer was over. What was to be done? The four ministers of Boston, and the one of Charlestown assembled in Goodwin's house, and spent a whole day of fasting in prayer. In consequence, the youngest child, the little one of four years old, was 'delivered.' But if the ministers could thus by prayer deliver a possessed child, then there must have been a witch; the honour of the ministers required a prosecution of the affair; and the magistrates, William Stoughton being one of the judges, and all holding commissions exclusively from the English king, and being irresponsible to the people of Massachusetts, with a 'vigour' which the united ministers commended as 'just,' made a 'discovery of the wicked instrument of the devil.' The culprit was evidently a wild Irish woman, of a strange tongue. Goodwin, who made the complaint, 'had no proof that could have done her any hurt,' but 'the scandalous old hag,' whom some thought 'crazed in her intellectuals,' was bewildered, and made strange answers, which were taken as confessions; sometimes in excitement using her native dialect. One Hughes testified that, six years before she had heard one Howen say she had seen Glover come down her chimney. It was plain the prisoner was a Roman Catholic; she had never learned the Lord's prayer in English; she could repeat the Paternoster fluently enough, but not quite correctly; so the ministers and Goodwin's family had the satisfaction of getting her condemned as a witch and executed. 'Here,' it was proclaimed, 'was food for faith.' So desperately wicked is the heart of man, the girl who knew herself to be a deceiver had no remorse, and to the ministers, in their self-

righteousness, it never occurred that vanity and love of power had blinded their judgment. There were sceptics in Boston. The age, thought the ministers, 'was a debauched one,' given up 'to Sadducism;' and as the possessed damsel obtained no relief, Cotton Mather, eager to learn the marvels of the world of spirits, and 'wishing to confute the Sadducism' of his times, invited her to his house; the artful girl easily imposed upon his credulity. The devil would permit her to read in Quaker books, or the Common prayer, or Popish books; but a prayer from Cotton Mather, or a chapter from the Bible, would throw her into convulsions. By a series of experiments, in reading aloud passages from the Bible in various languages, the minister satisfied himself, 'by trials of their capacity,' that devils are well skilled in languages, and understood Latin, and Greek, and even Hebrew; though he fell 'upon one inferior Indian language which the demons did not seem so well to understand.' Experiments were made with unequal success, to see if the devils can know the thoughts of others; and the inference was that 'all devils are not alike sagacious.' The vanity of Cotton Mather was further gratified, for the bewitched girl would say that the demons could not enter his study, and that his own person was shielded by God against blows from the evil spirits." *

In 1692, the government for New Hampshire was organized, and from that time the civil history of that colony for a quarter of a century had been a series of lawsuits about land.† But that state of strife about property was followed by fanaticism, the fierceness of which was no doubt largely augmented by rancorous feelings; availing themselves of

* History of the United States, by George Bancroft, Vol. ii. p. 749, 750, 751.

† Bancroft, ib. Vol. ii. p. 754.

judicial forms and popular delusions on the subject of witchcraft for vindictive purposes.

In Massachusetts, the nomination of its first officers under the Charter was committed to the fanatic, Cotton Mather, a minister of an austere, harsh, unkindly disposition; sanctimonious, daring, and even ferocious in his fanaticism; infatuated with the wildest notions of the Calvinistic enthusiasm and persecuting intolerance of his times.

"In Salem village, now Danvers, there had been between Samuel Parris, the minister, and a part of his people, a strife so bitter, that it had even attracted the attention of the general court. The delusion of witchcraft would give opportunities of terrible vengeance. In the family of Samuel Parris, his daughter, a child of nine years, and his niece, a girl of less than twelve, began to have strange caprices. He that will read Cotton Mather's Book of Memorable Providences, may read part of what those children suffered; and Tituba, an Indian female servant, who had practised some wild incantations, being betrayed by her husband, *was scourged by Parris, her master*, into confessing herself a witch. The ministers of the neighbourhood held at the afflicted house a day of fasting and prayer, and the little children became the most conspicuous personages in Salem. Of a sudden, the opportunity of fame, of which the love is not the exclusive infirmity of noble minds, was placed within the reach of persons of the coarsest mould; and ambition of notoriety recruited the little company of the possessed. There existed no motive to hang Tituba, she was saved as a living witness to the reality of witchcraft; and Sarah Good, a poor woman of a melancholic temperament, was the first person selected for accusation. Cotton Mather, who had placed witches 'among the poor, and vile, and ragged beggars upon

earth,' and had staked his own reputation for veracity on the reality of witchcraft, prayed 'for a good issue.' As the affair proceeded, and the accounts of the witnesses appeared as if taken from his own writings, his boundless vanity gloried in 'the assault of evil angels upon the country, as a particular defiance upon himself.' Yet the delusion, but for Parris, would have languished. Of his niece, the girl of eleven years of age, he demanded the names of the devil's instruments who had bewitched the band of the afflicted, and then became at once informer and witness. In those days there was no prosecuting officer, and Parris was at hand to question his Indian servants and others, himself prompting their names, and acting as recorder to the magistrates. The recollection of the old controversy could not be forgotten, and Parris, moved by personal malice as well as by blind zeal, 'stifled the accusations of some,'—such is the testimony of the people of his own village—and at the same time, vigilantly promoting the accusations of others, was 'the beginner and the procurer of the sore afflictions to Salem village and the country.'

"Martha Cary, who on her examination in the meeting house before a throng, with a firm spirit, alone, against them all denied the presence of witchcraft, was committed to prison. Rebecca Nurse, likewise a woman of purest life, an object of the especial hatred of Parris, resisted the company of accusers, and was committed." "And Parris filling his prayers with the theme, made the pulpit ring with it—'Have I not chosen you twelve,' such was his text—'and one of you is a devil?' At this Sarah Cloyce, sister to Rebecca Nurse, rose up and left the meeting house; and she too was cried out upon and sent to prison."*

* Ib. Vol. ii. p. 757.

The deputy-governor and five other magistrates on the day appointed for the trial, several ministers being present, conducted the judicial investigation. Parris officiated as a manager of the prosecutions, and by his mode of management "it is plain (says Bancroft) that he himself elicited every accusation." This godly minister's first witness, John, the Indian servant, husband to Tituba, was rebuked by Sarah Cloyce, one of the prisoners, as a grievous liar. The niece of the godly minister Parris, Abigail Williams, was also at hand "with her tales." The prisoner, Sarah, she declared had been at the witches sacrament. Struck with horror, Sarah Cloyce asked for water, and sank down "in a fainting fit." This witness also declared that Sarah Proctor had invited her to sign the devil's book. "Dear child," exclaimed the accused in her agony, "it is not so. There is another judgment, dear child."

The accusers of this poor woman then turning towards her husband, who was in court, declared that he too was a wizard. He was immediately committed. Examinations and commitments multiplied from that time.

An old man, of a stubborn disposition, named Giles Cary, upwards of fourscore years of age, who had quarrelled with his minister Parris, could not escape his vengeance. A farmer named Edward Bishop declared that on one occasion he had cured John, the Indian servant, of a fit by flogging him, and stated moreover, his belief that he could cure the whole company of the afflicted; and for his scepticism found himself and his wife forthwith in a prison. Another sister of Rebecca Nurse, Mary Easy, was torn from her children and cast into prison—a woman of singular gentleness and force of character, deeply religious, yet uninfected by superstition. A preacher named George Burroghs, who had formerly exercised his calling in the

village of Salem, was considered a rival of minister Parris. He too being a sceptic in witchcraft was accused, and committed. Up to that period no confession had been procured. But the advantage to the accused of confessing began to be mooted. And at last Deliverance Hobbs confessed everything that was asked of her, and was left unharmed.

The Governor deemed the evidence insufficient ground of guilt. But the arrival of a new Charter of Government and a change of magistrates proved favourable to the views and interests of Cotton Mather. In fact, the triumph of this canting miscreant was then complete. One Stoughton was appointed by the Governor chief judge in this case. The trials commenced on the 2nd of June. The first experiment of a trial was in the case of Bridget Bishop, "a poor friendless old woman," the fact of whose witchcraft was assumed as "notorious." The godly minister, Samuel Parris, appeared as a witness against her; deposed to his knowledge of her having the power of inflicting torture. "He had seen it exercised." "Deliverance Hobbs had been whipped with iron rods by her spectre. Neighbours who had quarrels with her were willing to lay their little ills to her charge; the poor creature had a preternatural excrescence in her flesh." "She gave a look towards the great and spacious meeting house at Salem;" it is Cotton Mather who records this, "and immediately *invisibly* entering the house tore down a part of it."

On the 10th of June this poor creature, protesting her innocence, was hanged. "The tribunal by which she had been found guilty, was illegally constituted. But what did that signify to the malignant fanatic Cotton Mather, or the truculent minister, Samuel Parris. They had a triumph in this judicial murder."

It is some consolation to learn, from Bancroft, that in the interior of the colony this delusion did not spread at all. But the consolation is not left long to us, for we are told that immediately after this execution, the ministers of Boston and Charlestown addressed to the Council their grateful thanks for their sedulous endeavours to defeat abominable witchcrafts, praying that the discovery of them might be perfected, but cautioning the Council to condemn none on the testimony of the devil alone, and illustrating this sanctimonious caution with the following direful advice:—"We recommend the speedy and vigorous persecution of such as have rendered themselves obnoxious." The blood of one unfortunate creature was not enough for the tender consciences of those pious ministers.

Their recommendation was not without due effect. "The obedient Court at its next sitting condemned five women, all of blameless lives, all protesting their innocence." Four had been convicted without much trouble.

Rebecca Nurse was at first acquitted. "The honoured Court was pleased to object against the verdict." An expression of hers on the trial in reference to her former acquaintance with some of the witnesses from whom confessions had been obtained: "they used to come among us," the iniquitous Judge Stoughton interpreted into an admission that she had been with them at a witch festival. The jury withdrew and could not yet agree, but as the prisoner was hard of hearing, and made no observation on the interpretation of her words by the judge, they at length were brought to agreement and found her guilty, stating the ground of her condemnation. When this was made known to her, she made a declaration of the meaning of her words in reply. The Governor saw cause to grant a reprieve. But Bancroft tells us, "Parris had preached against Rebecca Nurse and prayed against her, had induced 'the afflicted'

to witness against her, had caused her sisters to be imprisoned for their honourable sympathy. She must perish or the delusion was unveiled; and the Governor recalled the reprieve."

On the next communion day she was taken in chains to the meeting house to be formally excommunicated by Noyes, her minister, and was hanged with the rest.

To Sarah Good, another of the *convicted* about to suffer, this Christian pastor said:—"You are a witch; you know you are:" urging a confession. "You are a liar," replied the poor woman, "and if you take my life God will give you blood to drink."

The zealous ministers, Cotton Mather and Samuel Parris, emboldened by their late success, proceeded vigorously in their investigations; confessions of great importance multiplied in their hands; the jails were filled. Proofs of witchcraft were publicly reported that were declared to be incontestable—callous spots in the flesh, true devil's marks—impossibility to shed tears, to say the Lord's Prayer correctly; manifestations of great physical strength, all these were signs of witchcraft. "*And in some instances,*" says Bancroft, "*the phenomena of witchcraft would seem to have been exhibited,* and the afflicted, out of their fits, knew nothing of what they did or said in them."*

"Again on a new session six are arraigned and six convicted. John Willard as an officer had been employed to arrest the suspected witches. Perceiving the hypocrisy, he declined the service. 'The afflicted' immediately denounced him, he was seized, convicted and hanged."

At the trial of George Burroghs, the bewitched persons pretended to be dumb or were represented by the prosecutors to be so. When the Judge, Stoughton, asked the

* Bancroft, Ib. vol. ii. p. 760.

prisoner—"Who hinders these witnesses from giving their testimonies?" The prisoner replied—"I suppose the devil." "How comes the devil," asked the learned judge, "so loth to have any testimony borne against you?" And this question, unanswered and unanswerable indeed, from the bench, seems to have been considered as a *poser* so "effective" as to suffice for taking away the life of a human being. Ah! but there were other proofs of guilt of witchcraft brought forward by the ministers of religion! The prisoner had performed feats of extraordinary and therefore preternatural muscular strength. And that "painted sepulchre" of a Christian pastor—the sanctimonious hypocrite—who confounded in his villainies the wild inspirations of fanaticism, with the cool malignity of vindictive feelings, and the calculating artifices of fraud and falsehood—Cotton Mather, says the evidence was "enough." The prisoner was found guilty.

John Procter, another of the victims of these bloodthirsty ministers, before his trial, well knowing in whose hands were the issues of life and death in Massachusetts, addressed a memorial, not to the Governor and Council, but "to Cotton Mather and the ministers," praying to have him brought to trial in Boston, or at least, for a change of magistrates. "Among the witnesses against him were some who had made no confessions till after torture," and alluding to them, the unfortunate memorialist said: "They have already undone us in our estates, and that will not serve their turns without our innocent blood." John Procter might as well have turned his face to the chill damp wall of his dungeon, and appealed for pity to its hard stones, as have tried to touch the flinty hearts of those he petitioned, "Cotton Mather and the ministers."

Another of these victims, Martha Carrier, was brought to trial. This wretched woman, and most wretched of all

mothers, had seen her own children brought against her. "Her two sons refused to perjure themselves till they had been tied neck and heels so long that the blood was ready to gush from them." But a little girl of hers, a child of seven years old, was worked on by the ministers and their official accomplices of the jail, and the judicial tribunal; a confession of the poor child against her own mother was extorted, and that confession reduced to writing is still preserved; an awful evidence of a barbarity, worse than any savagery of uncivilized men, the hardness of heart that is insensible to all the instincts of natural affections, to all feelings of sympathy with our fellow-creatures, and of compassion for our kind, of men professing to be the ministers of Christ.

Another of these victims, an old man named Jacobs, was condemned partly on the evidence of his granddaughter. But this unfortunate grandchild confessed before the magistrates the whole truth of the efforts that had been employed to extort a confession from her, and she found means to have a letter conveyed to her father, in which she said: "I have confessed things contrary to my conscience and knowledge. But oh! the terrors of a wounded conscience, who can bear." The magistrates hereupon committed her to prison for trial, and in the meantime they hanged her grandfather.

These five victims of the ministers were condemned on the 3rd, and hanged on the 19th of August. On the plea of pregnancy, Elizabeth Procter was reprieved. One of the executed was a preacher of Salem, a rival minister of Parris, of the name of Burroghs. There was a novelty in the country of the Pilgrim fathers in the execution of a minister of religion, for dealings with the devil. But Burroghs had committed a great crime, he had denied absolutely that there was such or could be such a thing as

witchcraft in the current sense of the word. And by implication this denial was an accusation of judicial murder against the minister who got up those prosecutions, and the magistrates who conducted them to the issue denied by the former. Accordingly, Cotton Mather taking a particular interest in this execution, attended it on horseback. And when Burroghs, having ascended the ladder, asserted his innocence in an earnest and impressive speech, and repeated the Lord's Prayer in a solemn manner, and with a fervour that astounded the spectators; causing the tears to flow from the eyes of many; it seemed as if the assembled multitude would have risen up to have stopped the execution. But at that juncture Cotton Mather riding up, addressed the people, cavilling at the ordination of Burroghs, and stating that he was no true minister, that he was guilty of witchcraft, and that the devil has power to transform himself into the appearance of an angel of light. And so Cotton Mather had another triumph, for the hanging of the preacher Burroghs proceeded.

The ministers now turned their attention to the Anabaptists. Confessions began to be rumoured affecting persons of that sect. One Mary Osgood, was worked on by the managers of the prosecutions, and brought to an admission of having been "dipped by the devil." New trials took place. Six women were condemned, and more convictions followed. One man, an octogenarian, Giles Cary, refused to plead, and was condemned to be pressed to death, and this horrid sentence was carried into effect, only 163 years ago! "This barbarous usage of English laws," says Bancroft, "was never again followed in the colonies."

On the 22nd of Sept. 1692, eight persons were led to the gallows. Of these Samuel Wardell was supposed safe, having made a confession, and being promised that his life

should be spared. But he had retracted his confession "from shame and penitence," and spoke out the truth boldly, and he was hanged not for witchcraft, but for a denial of it.

One of the condemned women, Martha Cary, had been visited in prison a short time prior to her execution by the minister Parris, two deacons, and another member of his church. And the records of that church tell that she "imperiously" rebuked the minister and his attendants, and that "they pronounced the dreadful sentence of excommunication against her." Ghostly comforters to the afflicted, the broken of heart and the bruised of spirit, were the Puritan minister of Salem, his two deacons, and the member of his church, who *visited* only to curse the poor condemned woman in her dungeon. Of these men, and all like them, can that blessing be the inheritance which is promised to the helper of the poor, the succourer of the unfortunate, the comforter of the sick, the stranger, and the prisoner? "Come, you blessed of my Father, possess you the kingdom prepared for you from the foundation of the world. For I was hungry and you gave me to eat: I was thirsty and you gave me to drink; I was a stranger and you took me in; naked and you covered me; sick and you visited me. I was in prison and you came to me."*

One unfortunate woman, Mary Easy, several members of whose family had been marked out for persecution by the ministers, exhibited on her trial extraordinary calmness and composure in exposing the falsehoods of the witnesses brought against her; we are told by Bancroft "she joined the noblest fortitude with sweetness of temper, dignity, and resignation." But the chief judge, the infamous Stough-

* Matthew, xxv. 34, 35, 36.

ton, acted in the judgment seat as if he had been law officer of the Crown appointed to conduct the prosecution (an error that has been sometimes fallen into in later times). "*He was very impatient in hearing anything that looked another way.*"

And when the body of this woman and the bodies of seven other human creatures were swinging in the air, one of the ministers—Noyes, a minister of Salem—said: "There hang eight firebrands of hell," pointing to the bodies "swinging from the gallows."

Oh, gentlemen of New England! Christian people of Massachusetts! think of these doings when you assemble annually at festive boards to solemnize the anniversary and commemorate the landing on your shores of the Pilgrim Fathers.

When the last eight victims had been disposed of, twenty-five persons had been put to death for imputed witchcraft; fifty-five had been tortured or terrified into confessions.

And as the number of executions increased, the ferocious zeal of the persecuting ministers became more fierce and unscrupulous. The jails were so thronged, and homes so desolated or disturbed by the proceedings of the managers, by searches, rumours of confessions, hints of suspicion incurred, proofs of former enmity and ill will revived, that even "the generation of the children of God" were in danger "of falling under that condemnation."

After the executions above referred to, there was a short respite in the game of hunting out witches. The Court was adjourned to the ensuing November. But in the interim the great assembly of the representatives of the people were to meet, and it was generally believed the subject of those numerous prosecutions and executions would

be strictly inquired into. Before the appointed meeting of the Court, Mather with indefatigable industry had composed a narrative, which he entitled "The Wonders of the Invisible World," with the admitted design of promoting "a pious thankfulness to God for justice being so far revealed amongst us."

At the recall of Governor Phipps, the Government remained for some years in the hands of Stoughton. The press was necessarily restrained by this functionary. But one Calef, whom Mather designated "the coal from hell," whose intelligence and common sense made it requisite for Cotton Mather to stigmatize as one whose statements emanated from a diabolical malignity, kept his ground in public estimation, and his narrative of the proceedings of the ministers against the supposed witches, made all further attempts to stifle public opinion futile and unavailing. Cotton Mather had been forced to condescend to write against his bold impugner. He began by denouncing his adversary Calef as "an enemy of religion," whose book was "a libel upon the whole Government and ministry of the land." The policy of this mode of defence had nothing novel in it, and the experience of the last century and a half proves that the character of novelty is not at all essential to it even in our times. Battles are waged in our own days as they were in those of Cotton Mather, for sordid selfish interests in the name of religion, and professedly for the State by men who care more for themselves than they do for the altar or the throne, or for both together.

In taking up the pen, Cotton Mather declared his object to be, "to lift up a standard against the infernal enemy."

When the representatives of the people assembled, a fortnight after the last hanging of eight at Salem, the people of Andover, their minister joining with them, appeared

with their remonstrance against the doings of the witch tribunals. "We know not," they said, "who can think himself safe if the accusations of children and others, under a diabolical influence, shall be received against persons of good fame."

The General Assembly, however, evidently shewed the feelings of the people were not so strong against the judicial proceedings in cases of alleged witchcraft, as Bancroft would lead us to imagine. There was no impeachment of those proceedings, on the contrary, the English law against witchcraft was adopted word for word as it stood in the English statute book. But they abrogated the special Court as a tribunal for such proceedings. Stoughton was retained in his office as chief judge.

The Court legally constituted did not sit till the month of January, 1693. Six women of Andover, accused of witchcraft when the Court opened, renounced their confessions, and apparently with impunity. The grand jury threw out more than half the bills in witchcraft cases. Those they returned as true bills, twenty-six in number, brought before the petty jury resulted in acquittals, all the prisoners were set free.

The reign of Cotton Mather and the ministers, who were his accomplices, was at an end.

Were these ministers and the magistrates who co-operated with them sincere in their belief in the witchcraft of those persons they prosecuted and persecuted to death?

"It must be observed," says Bancroft, "that in modern times the cry of witchcraft has been raised by the priesthood, rarely, I think never, except when free inquiry was advancing. Many a commission was empowered to punish alike heresy and witchcraft. The bold inquirer was sometimes burned as a wizard, and sometimes as an insurgent

against the established faith. In France, where there were most heretics, there were most condemnations for witchcraft. Cotton Mather in his 'Discourse' did but repeat the old tale: 'Rebellion is the Achan, the trouble of us all.'"

It is quite clear that Cotton Mather's design in getting up a cry against witchcraft had nothing to do with any troubles arising from insurgent boldness directed against the established faith of Massachusetts. There were no heresies in his time with any power to make head against it, to be confounded with witchcraft. The Anabaptists were too few and too feeble as a sect to give any just alarm to the Puritans. The people who were selected for victims were chiefly poor labouring people—the great majority women.

The whole secret of Cotton Mather's conduct in this dire drama of his "getting up," is to be traced to motives of ambition, influencing the acts, the policy, and the fears of loss of power and consideration of a man of narrow mind, a cold heart, a bigot in his creed, and a firebrand in his polemics.

In 1691, we are told by Bancroft, "For Massachusetts, the nomination of its first officers under the charter, was committed to Increase Mather. As Governor he proposed Sir Wm. Phipps, a native of New England, who honestly loved his country; headstrong, and with a reason so feeble, that in politics he knew nothing of general principles; in religion he was the victim to superstition." . . "Intercession had been made by Cotton Mather for the advancement of William Stoughton, a man of cold affections, proud, self-willed, and covetous of distinction. He had acted under James II. as Deputy-president, a fit tool for such a king, joining in all the miscarriages of the late government. *The people had rejected him in their election of judges, giving him not a vote.*"

So Mather, under the new Royal Charter given to this settlement, had the whole patronage of the government in his hands for a time.

He exercised it in many cases in opposition to the wishes of the people, as he had done in the appointment of the rejected candidate for a judgeship to the office of Deputy-Governor. Of the twenty-eight advisers or assistants of the Governor who formed his Council, the agent writes officially, "every man of them is a friend to the interests of the churches."

Then we find by Cotton Mather's journal, that he had jealousies to encounter, fears to afflict him, of being made a sacrifice to wicked rulers; wrestlings with God to go through, to awaken the churches. He felt, as Bancroft observes, that something remarkable was to be done, and therefore "a religious excitement was resolved upon."

When some moderate people began to object to the judicial murders, on the plea of punishing witchcraft, Cotton Mather thundered anathemas against these Sadducees, "advocates of witches," impious objectors, "against the work going on at Salem."

When the machinations of the ministers at length were defeated, by a verdict of acquittal in the case of an old woman of eighty years of age, tried for witchcraft: when the grand jury dismissed more than half the presentments sent up to them against persons accused of witchcraft—finding bills against twenty-six *only*; when the trials in the latter cases served only to shew the feebleness of the testimony on which the former convictions had been obtained, then it was plain enough, even to the most infatuated of Mather's adherents and co-operators, that their power and influence was coming to an end.

Mather, to cover his confusion, got up a case of witchcraft in his own parish.

He had laid claim to miraculous powers by prayer, of curing diseases by them. And he avers that miracles were wrought in Boston. But his claims and his averment sufficed not to retrieve his waning influence. The getting up of the cry of witchcraft, was a great experiment, but the policy of it was too obvious to escape detection. The getting up of a case of witchcraft at such a juncture in his own parish, when the proceedings against witches had broken down elsewhere, "c'est pire q'une crime, c'etoit une sottise."

The case of sorcery he brought forward in his own parish, was that of a bewitched person, "afflicted by veiled spectres." But he did not venture on having recourse to the secular arm, in this instance. His dear brother in Christ, Parris the minister of Salem, had incurred too much odium for having caused his own parishioners to be hanged. The imposture of "the veiled spectres," was too promptly exposed to ridicule to give Cotton Mather time or encouragement to push his last experiment to the extent of a prosecution. The exposer of the imposture, who, Bancroft states, was a rational and intelligent, though unlettered man, named Robert Calef, Cotton Mather designates "a malignant, calumnious and reproachful man, a coal from hell."

"Was Cotton Mather honestly credulous?" Bancroft inquires at the end of his account of this persecution, and he answers the question in these words, "Ever ready to dupe himself, he limited his credulity only by the probable credulity of others. He changes or omits to repeat his statements without acknowledging error, and with a clear intention of conveying false impressions. He is an example how far selfishness, under the form of vanity and ambition, can blind the higher faculties, stupify the judgment and

dupe consciousness itself. His self-righteousness was complete till he was resisted."*

The fate of the persecutors of New England had no Lactantius for its historian. All that cotemporaneous indignation or the contemptuous indifference of modern inquiry enables us to say of those great culprits, is this: "the inexorable indignation of the people of Salem village drove Parris from the place;" "Noyes regained favour only by a full confession, asking forgiveness always, and consecrating the remainder of his days to deeds of mercy:" "Sewall, one of the judges, by the frankness and sincerity of his undisguised confession, recovered public esteem." "*Stoughton and Cotton Mather never repented.*" "The former lived proud, unsatisfied and unbeloved; the latter attempted to persuade others that he had not been specially active in the tragedy. But the public mind would not be deceived. His diary proves that he did not wholly escape the rising impeachment from the monitor within: and Cotton Mather, who had sought the foundation of faith in tales of wonder, himself had temptations to atheism and to the abandonment of all religion as a mere delusion."†

There is a sentence of Seneca [in relation to superstition] which conveys a just but a terrible idea of the power of fanaticism on a disordered mind, and the perversion of religious instincts to savage impulses of cruelty: "Tantus est perturbatæ mentis furor, ut sic Dii placentur quemadmodum ne homines quidem sæviunt."

Nations like individuals transmit these "peccant humours" to their posterity. When old countries found colonies, their vices as well as their virtues are transplanted by them. Our American offspring are indebted to us for

* Bancroft, ib. vol. 2. p. 765. † Ib. p. 766.

slavery, for witchcraft; and some later forms of fanaticism which made their first appearance amongst them in the early part of the present century.

Professor Hecker, in his work on "The Epidemics of the Middle Ages," in referring to the latter, alludes to the unwillingness of the enlightened spirits of the eighteenth century to admit the possibility of such "lamentable phenomena" as occurred in the epidemic mania of the French convulsionnaires in the early part of the 18th century.

Alas! for poor humanity, the enlightened spirits of the 19th century have to allow the existence of "lamentable phenomena" of an analogous kind. England and America have had their minor convulsionnaires, and their pitiable fanaticisms referable to theomania, though on a smaller scale, and for a shorter period than France was afflicted, by the extravagances of the monomaniacs of the Jansenist shrine and sepulchre in the cemetery of St. Medard.

Assuredly, nothing of fanaticism was more manifest in Catholic France, on the part of many of the Theomaniacs of the early part of the eighteenth century, than was apparent in the later extravagances of the Jumpers in Protestant England; or in those of the camp-meeting revivalists, and the epidemical convulsive disorders connected with theomania which have prevailed amongst several sects in America from the beginning of the present century.

The English Jumpers continued to exist in the present century, though they became a sect so early as 1760 in the county of Cornwall.

Two fanatics, named Harris Rowland and William Williams, became of notoriety for extraordinary religious zeal and extreme enthusiasm.

Their first followers were members of the Methodist

persuasion, and their principal doctrines were originally of that sect. In the fervour of their religious exercises they prayed, preached, and prophesied with great vehemence and volubility—in a wild strain of incoherent improvisation. They jumbled solemn scriptural texts in their familiar discourse with homely phrases and vulgar terms; and they applied them in a way that gave an air of absurdity to impiety.

In their extemporaneous prayers and preachings they got into the habit of reiterating particular scriptural names, and words devoid of any meaning, with rapidity, accompanied by corresponding swayings of the body to and fro, and became accustomed to a state of stupefaction, thus artificially produced, which they believed to be a spiritual condition. Convulsions followed, and a temporary delirium, having the usual characters of theomania, and in numerous cases, especially among the elders and particularly pious, trances, ecstasies, and visions. The leading character of their disorder was the convulsive tendency of all the voluntary muscles, and a state of religious phrenzy, which impelled them to jump, to make frightful gestures, to utter shrieks and groans, which might be taken for demoniacal ravings.

The favoured few, who were "privileged" with raptures, ranted and prayed as if they were wrapt in a divine fury, and always terminated by jumping, which set on the congregation to jump and bound, sometimes for hours together, till "the weaker vessels" broke down, and were carried away in swoons, or the religious exercise ended occasionally in riot and revels, which were as wild as any Bacchanalian orgies.

"It is some consolation (says Evans) to real religion to add, that this practice is on the decline, as the more sober or conscientious, who were at first at a loss to judge where

this practice might carry them, have seen its pernicious tendency.

"Such is the account of the *Jumpers*, which, with a few alterations, has been transmitted me by a respectable minister, who frequently visits the principality. It is to be hoped, that the exercise of common sense will in time recover them from these extravagant ecstasies, which pain the rational friends of revelation, and afford matter of exultation to the advocates of infidelity.

"About the year 1785, I myself happened very accidentally to be present at a meeting which terminated in jumping. It was held in the open air, on a Sunday evening, near Newport in Monmouthshire. The preacher was one of Lady Huntingdon's students, who concluded his sermon with the recommendation of *jumping*; and to allow him the praise of consistency, he got down from the chair on which he stood, and jumped along with them. The arguments he adduced for this purpose were, that David danced before the ark—that the babe leaped in the womb of Elizabeth, and that the man whose lameness was removed leaped and praised God for the mercy which he had received. He expatiated on these topics, with uncommon fervency, and then drew the inference, that *they* ought to shew *similar expressions* of joy, for the blessings which Jesus Christ had put into their possession. He then gave an impassioned sketch of the sufferings of the Saviour, and hereby roused the passions of a few around him into violent agitation. About nine men and seven women, for some little time, rocked to and fro, groaned aloud, and then jumped with a kind of frantic fury. Some of the audience flew in all directions; others gazed on in silent amazement! They all gradually dispersed, except the *jumpers*, who continued their exertions from eight in the evening to near eleven at night. I saw the conclusion of it; they at last

kneeled down in a circle, holding each other by the hand, while one of them prayed with great fervour, and then *all* rising up from their knees, departed. But previous to their dispersion, they wildly pointed up towards the sky, and reminded one another that they should soon meet *there,* and be *never* again separated!"*

Elsewhere we find a graphic and authentic account of the later progress of this epidemic fanaticism.

"In a Methodist chapel at Redruth, a man during divine service, cried out with a loud voice, 'What shall I do to be saved?' at the same time manifesting the greatest uneasiness and solicitude respecting the condition of his soul. Some other members of the congregation following his example, cried out in the same form of words, and seemed shortly after to suffer the most excruciating bodily pain. This strange occurrence was soon publicly known, and hundreds of people who had come thither, either attracted by curiosity, or a desire from other motives to see the sufferers, fell into the same state. The chapel remained open for some days and nights, and from that point the new disorder spread itself with the rapidity of lightning over the neighbouring towns of Camborne, Helston, Truro, Penryn, and Falmouth, as well as over the villages in the vicinity. Whilst thus advancing, it decreased in some measure at the place where it had first appeared, and it confined itself throughout to the Methodist chapels. It was only by the words which have been mentioned that it was excited, and it seized none but people of the lowest education. Those who were attacked betrayed the greatest anguish, and fell into convulsions; others cried out, like persons possessed, that the Almighty would straightway

* Evans' Sketch of the various Denominations of the Christian World. New Ed. Edinburgh, 1840, p. 257, 258.

pour out his wrath upon them, that the wailings of tormented spirits rang in their ears, and they saw hell open to receive them. The clergy when, in the course of their sermons, they perceived that persons were thus seized, earnestly exhorted them to confess their sins, and zealously endeavoured to convince them that they were by nature enemies to Christ; that the anger of God had therefore fallen upon them; and that if death should surprise them in the midst of their sins, the eternal torments of hell would be their portion. The over-excited congregation upon this repeated their words, which naturally must have increased the fury of their convulsive attacks. When the discourse had produced its full effect the preacher changed his subject, reminded those who were suffering of the power of the Saviour, as well as of the grace of God, and represented to them in glowing colours the joys of heaven. Upon this a remarkable reaction sooner or later took place. Those who were in convulsions felt themselves raised from the lowest depths of misery and despair to the most exalted bliss, and triumphantly shouted out that their bonds were loosed, their sins were forgiven, and that they were translated to the wonderful freedom of the children of God. In the meantime their convulsions continued, and they remained during this condition so abstracted from every earthly thought that they staid two and sometimes three days and nights together in the chapels, agitated all the time by spasmodic movements, and taking neither repose nor nourishment. According to a moderate computation 4000 people were within a very short time affected with this convulsive malady.

"The course and symptoms of the attacks were in general as follows:—There came on at first a feeling of faintness, with rigour and a sense of weight at the pit of the stomach, soon after which the patient cried out, as if in

the agonies of death or the pains of labour. The convulsions then began, first shewing themselves in the muscles of the eyelids, though the eyes themselves were fixed and staring. The most frightful contortions of the countenance followed, and the convulsions now took their course downwards, so that the muscles of the neck and trunk were affected, causing a sobbing respiration, which was performed with great effort. Tremors and agitation ensued, and the patients screamed out violently, and tossed their heads about from side to side. As the complaint increased it seized the arms, and its victims beat their breasts, clasped their hands, and made all sorts of strange gestures. The observer who gives this account, remarked that the lower extremities were in no instance affected. In some cases exhaustion came on in a very few minutes, but the attack usually lasted much longer, and there were even cases in which it was known to continue for sixty or seventy hours. Many of those who happened to be seated when the attack commenced bent their bodies rapidly backwards and forwards during its continuance, making a corresponding motion with their arms, like persons sawing wood. Others shouted aloud, leaped about, and threw their bodies into every possible posture, until they had exhausted their strength. Yawning took place at the commencement in all cases, but as the violence of the disorder increased the circulation and respiration became accelerated, so that the countenance assumed a swollen and puffed appearance. When exhaustion came on patients usually fainted, and remained in a stiff and motionless state till their recovery. The disorder completely resembled the St. Vitus's dance, but the fits sometimes went on to an extraordinarily violent extent, so that the author of the account once saw a woman who was seized with these convulsions resist the endeavours of four or five strong men to restrain her. Those

patients who did not lose their consciousness were in general made more furious by every attempt to quiet them by force, on which account they were in general suffered to continue unmolested until nature herself brought on exhaustion. Those affected complained more or less of debility after the attacks, and cases sometimes occurred in which they passed into other disorders: thus some fell into a state of melancholy, which however, in consequence of their religious ecstasy, was distinguished by the absence of fear and despair; and in one patient inflammation of the brain is said to have taken place. No sex or age was exempt from this epidemic malady. Children from five years old and octogenarians were alike affected by it, and even men of the most powerful frame were subject to its influence. Girls and young women, however, were its most frequent victims."*

In the summer of 1803, St. Vitus's dance, in the form of an epidemic, broke out in Tennessee, in the United States. A graphic account of this disorder is given by Felix Robertson, in an inaugural address on Chorea Sancti Viti, 8vo. Philadelphia, 1805. The author, in his introductory remarks, observes:

"I suppose there are but few individuals in the United States who have not at least heard of the unparalleled blaze of religious enthusiasm which burst forth in the western country about the year 1800; but it is impossible perhaps to have a competent idea of its effects without personal observation."

This religious enthusiasm travelled like electricity with astonishing rapidity, and was felt *almost instantaneously* in every part of the states of Tennessee and Kentucky.

* This statement is made by J. Cornish. See Fothergill and Want's Medical and Physical Journal, vol. xxxi. 1814, pp. 373-379.

It afterwards proved so powerful a stimulus, that every other entirely lost its effect, or was but feebly felt.

Hence that general neglect of earthly things which was observed, and an almost perpetual attendance at places of public worship.

The author states, that on days of worship great multitudes of people flocked from distant points to their places of meeting, supplied with provisions and tents, remained on the spot day and night in acts of religious worship, occupied almost incessantly: "The outward expression of their worship consisted chiefly in alternate crying, laughing, singing, and shouting, and at the same time performing that variety of gesticulation which the muscular system is capable of producing. It was under these circumstances that some found themselves unable by voluntary efforts to suppress the contraction of their muscles; and to their own astonishment and the diversion of many of the spectators, they continued to act from necessity the curious character which they had commenced from choice."

The disease spread rapidly through the medium and instinct of imitation. A single individual affected would communicate all the symptoms of his disorder to a whole assembly of new comers. A great majority of those affected were females and young people, generally from the age of fifteen to twenty-five, those most enthusiastic in their religious sentiments and delicate in their organisation. The convulsive motions were generally in the muscles of the neck, sometimes the superior extremities of the trunk, but rarely, if ever, of the inferior members. When the muscles of the back were strongly affected at the commencement of the disease, the patients would be thrown violently on the ground, where for some time their motions would more resemble those of a live fish when thrown on land than anything else to which the author could compare them.

The irregular contractions of the muscles of the chest occasioned strange interruptions in conversation and sounds like those of forcible expiration, causing them to grunt when speaking.

In their paroxysms (which never occurred during sleep) they seemed to suffer no bodily pain; on the contrary, they spoke of their sensations as being agreeable, which the more enthusiastic often endeavoured to express by laughing, shouting, dancing, and at the same time performing that variety of gesticulation which the muscular system is capable of producing.

In no case within the knowledge of the writer did this disease prove mortal. It was often connected with melancholia, which was of long continuance.

Gradually it became less violent, and seemed to wear itself out, as the novelty of the enthusiasm in which it originated wore off, and finally having run its course for a few years it disappeared.

Lorenzo Dow, the cosmopolite, in his published "Journal, containing his Experience and his Travels from Childhood to 1815," Philadelphia, in 12mo. 1815, second edition, gives the following account of the convulsions called the jerks, which he witnessed at various places at the camp meetings he attended, in the United States, in the years 1804, 1805, and 1806:

"I had heard about a singularity called the *jerks,* or *jerking* exercise, says he, which appeared first near Knoxville, in August last (1804), to the great alarm of the people; which reports at first I considered as vague and false, but at length, like the Queen of Sheba, I set out to go and see for myself; and sent over these appointments into this country accordingly. . . . I began to speak to a vast audience, and I observed about thirty to have the *jerks,* though they strove to keep as still as they could;

these emotions were involuntary and irresistible, as any unprejudiced eye might discern. . . Hence to Mary's-ville, where I spoke to about one thousand five hundred, and many appeared to feel the word, but about fifty felt the jerks. At night I lodged with one of the Nicholites, a kind of Quakers, who do not feel free to wear coloured clothes. I spoke to a number of people at his house that night. Whilst at tea I observed his daughter (who sat opposite to me at table) to have the jerks, and dropped the tea cup from her hand in violent agitation. I said to her, 'Young woman, what is the matter?' She replied, 'I have the jerks.' I asked her how long she had it? She observed, 'a few days,' and that it had been the means of the awakening and conversion of her soul, by stirring her up to serious consideration about her careless state, &c.

"Sunday, February 19th, 1805, I spoke in Knoxville to hundreds more than could get into the Court House, the Governor being present, about one hundred and fifty appeared to have the jerking exercise, among whom was a circuit preacher (Johnson), who had opposed them a little before, but he now had them powerfully; and I believe he would have fallen over three times had not the auditory been so crowded that he could not, unless he fell perpendicularly.

"After meeting, I rode eighteen miles to hold a meeting at night, the people of this settlement were mostly Quakers, and they had said (as I was informed) the Methodists and Presbyterians have the *jerks* because they sing and pray so much, but we are still peaceable people, wherefore we do not have them; however, about twenty of these came to the meeting, to hear one as was said, somewhat in a Quaker line, but their usual stillness and silence was interrupted; for about a dozen of them had the jerks as keen and as powerful as any I had seen, so as

to have occasioned a kind of grunt or groan when they would jerk. It appears that many have undervalued the great revival, and attempted to account for it altogether on natural principles; therefore it seems to me (from the best judgment I can form) that God hath seen proper to take this method to convince people, that He will work in a way to shew his power, and sent the *jerks* as a sign of the times, partly in judgment for the people's unbelief, and yet as a mercy to convict people of divine realities.

"I have seen Presbyterians, Methodists, Quakers, Baptists, Church of England, and Independents exercised with the *jerks*. Gentleman and lady, black and white, the aged and the youth, rich and poor, without exception; from which I infer, as it cannot be accounted for on natural principles, and carries such marks of involuntary motion, that it is no trifling matter; I believe that those who are most pious and given up to God, are rarely touched with it, and also those naturalists who wish and try to get it, to philosophize upon it, are excepted, but the lukewarm, lazy, half-hearted, indolent professor is subject to it; and many of them I have seen, who, when it came upon them would be alarmed, and stirred up to redouble their diligence with God, and after that they would get happy, and were thankful it ever came upon them. Again, the wicked are frequently more afraid of it than the small-pox or yellow fever; these are subject to it: but the persecutors are more subject to it than any, and they sometimes have cursed, and swore, and damned it, whilst jerking; there is no pain attending the jerks except they resist it, which, if they do, it will weary them more in an hour than a day's labour, which shews that it requires the consent of the *will* to avoid suffering. . . .

"20th.—I passed by a meeting-house where I observed the undergrowth had been cut up for a camp meeting, and

from 50 to 100 saplings left breast high, which to me appeared so slovenish that I could not but ask my guide the cause, who observed they were topped so high, and left for the people to jerk by. This so excited my attention that I went over the ground to view it, and found where the people had laid hold of them and jerked so powerfully, that they had kicked up the earth as a horse stamping flies. I observed some emotion both this day and night among the people, a Presbyterian minister (with whom I stayed) observed, 'Yesterday whilst I was preaching some had the jerks, and a young man from North Carolina mimicked them out of derision, and soon was seized with them himself (which was the case with many others); he grew ashamed, and on attempting to mount his horse to go off, his foot jerked about so that he could not put it into the stirrup; some youngsters seeing this assisted him on, but he jerked so that he could not sit alone, and one got up to hold him on, which was done with difficulty. I observed this, went to him and asked him what he thought of it? said he, I believe God sent it on me for my wickedness, and making so light of it in others, and he requested me to pray for him.'

"I observed his wife had it; she said she was first attacked with it in bed. Dr. Nelson said, he had frequently strove to get it (in order to philosophize upon it), but could not, and observed they could not account for it on natural principles.

"Next day he gave me some money, and sent a horse with me several miles, and then I took to my feet and went on to Greenville, and so on to Abingdon in Virginia. The last jerks that I saw was a young woman who was severely exercised during the meeting. She followed me into the house; I observed to her the indecency and folly of such public gestures and grunts, and requested (speaking

sternly to make an impression on her mind) if she had any regard for her character to leave it off; she replied, 'I will if I can.' I took her by the hand, looking her in the face, and said, 'Do not tell lies.' I perceived (by the emotion of her hand) that she exerted every nerve to restrain it, but instantly she jerked as if it would have jerked her out of her skin if it were possible; I did this to have an answer to others on the subject, which I told her, that my abruptness might leave no bad impression on her mind.

"From thence to New London, where I began speaking in the Court House, when *Papa* and *Mamma Hobson* came in, and we had a gracious time. Hence I fell in with brother Stith Mead, and we went on to the camp meeting which I had appointed last August. . .

"23rd.—About fifteen hundred people appeared on the ground, and the Lord began a gracious work that day, which I trust hell shall never be able to extinguish. One soul found peace before night, and another in the night.

"24th.—About three thousand people attended; the solemnity and tenderness, and prospect of good increased.

"25th, Sunday.—About five thousand on the ground, and in general good attention. Colonel Callaway and a number of respectable gentlemen used their endeavours to protect our peaceable privileges.

"Monday, 26th.—About three thousand appeared on the ground, and the rejoicings of old saints, the shouts of young converts, and the cries of the distressed for mercy, caused the meeting to continue all night, until we parted on Tuesday morning, 27th. . .

"Monday, Oct. 1st.—I saw the jerks in Pennsylvania, Ohio, and this state on this journey. Several of the presiding elders called me into a private room, and after some

interview we parted in friendship. Next day I spoke under the trees, nearly the whole conference being present. . .

"Friday, 19th.—Camp meeting commenced at Liberty; here I saw the jerks, and some danced, a strange exercise indeed; however, it is involuntary, yet requires the consent of the will, that is, the people are taken jerking irresistibly, and if they strive to resist it it worries them much, yet is attended with no bodily pain; and those who are exercised to dance (which, in the pious, seems an antidote to the jerks) if they resist, it brings deadness and barrenness over the mind; but when they yield to it they feel happy, although it is a great cross; there is a heavenly smile and solemnity on the countenance, which carries a great conviction to the minds of beholders; their eyes when dancing seem to be fixed upwards, as if upon an invisible object, and they lost to all below. . .

"Sunday, 21st.—I heard Doctor Tooley, a man of liberal education, who had been a noted Deist, preach on the subject of the *jerks* and the *dancing exercise.* He brought ten passages of Scripture to prove that dancing was once a religious exercise, but corrupted at Aaron's calf, and from thence young people got it for amusement. I believe the congregation and preachers were generally satisfied with his remarks. . .

"Sunday, 25th Nov.—I spoke for the last time at Natchez. I visited Seltzer-town, Greenville, and Gibson Port. This last place was a wilderness not two years ago, but now contains near thirty houses, with a court-house and gaol. We held quarterly meeting on Clarke's Creek; some supposed I would get no campers, but at this quarterly meeting I wanted to know if there were any backsliders in the auditory, and if there were, and they would come forward, I would pray with them. An old back-

slider, who had been happy in the old settlements, with tears came forward and fell upon his knees, and several followed his example. A panic seized the congregation, and an awful awe ensued; we had a cry and shout—it was a weeping tender time. The devil was angry, and some without persecuted, saying, 'Is God deaf, that they cannot worship him without such a noise?' though they perhaps would make a greater noise when drinking a toast."*

The phenomena manifested at the great revivals, some forty years ago, at Kentucky and Tennessee, are thus described by a writer quoted by Mr. Power (Essay on the Influence of the Imagination over the Nervous System) :—

"At first appearance these meetings exhibited nothing to the spectator but a scene of confusion that could scarcely be put into language. They were generally opened with a sermon, near the close of which there would be an unusual outcry, some bursting out into loud ejaculations of prayer," &c.

"The rolling exercise consisted in being cast down in a violent manner, doubled with the head and feet together, or stretched in a prostrate manner, turning swiftly over like a dog. Nothing in nature, could better represent the jerks than for one to goad another alternately on every side with a piece of red-hot iron. The exercise commonly begun in the head, which would fly backwards and forwards, and from side to side, with a quick jolt, which the person would naturally labour to suppress, but in vain. He must necessarily go on as he was stimulated, whether with a violent dash on the ground, and bounce from place to place like a foot-ball; or hopping round with head, limbs, and trunk, twitching and jolting in every direction, as if they must inevitably fly asunder, &c."

* Lorenzo Dow, pp. 177, 178, 179, 180, 181, 182, 183, 208, 209, 212.

In the revivals of modern times, scenes parallel to the extravagances of the Jumpers and Jerkers have been renewed, and have been attended with some very remarkable results.

"I have seen," says Mr. Le Roi Sunderland. a preacher, (Zion's Watchman, New York, Oct. 2, 1842) "persons lose their strength, as it is called, at camp-meetings and other places of great religious excitement; and not pious people alone, but those also who were not professors of religion. In the spring of 1824, while performing pastoral labour in Dennis, Massachusetts, I saw more than twenty people affected in this way. Two young men of the name of Crowell came one day to a prayer meeting. They were quite indifferent. I conversed with them freely, but they shewed no signs of penitence. From meeting they went to their shop (they were shoemakers) to finish some work before going to the meeting in the evening. On seating themselves they were both struck perfectly stiff. I was immediately sent for, and found them sitting paralysed on their benches, with their work in their hands, unable to get up or to move at all. I have seen scores of persons affected the same way. I have seen persons lie in this state forty-eight hours. At such times they are unable to converse, and are sometimes unconscious of what is passing round them; at the same time they say they are in a happy state of mind."

APPENDIX VI.

The Nun's Lament. In the original Spanish.

A Poem of the Fifteenth Century.

LAS DOZE COPLAS MONIALES.

Mayòr que mi sentimiento
es el menòr de mis daños:
gràn linaje de tormento,
ver qu'en discontentamiento
se me van mis tristes años!
Solatio, misera, meo,
clausæ sunt undique portæ:
no las halla mi deseo,
mas de par en par las veo,
à la mìa gran pena forte.

El secreto de la quàl
en el alma està, do toca,
que de grave y de mortàl
es como purga mì mal,
que se me viene à la boca.
Derelicta sum cautiva,
in florenti ætate mea,
en este carcel esquiva
do viverè cuanto viva
dolorosa, afflitta, y rea.

Sepultada estoy aqui
do muero hasta que muera.
Desventurada de mi . . .
de madre libre nascì:
quien me hizo prissionera?

Sensi nata paucos annos,
Fortunam iratam Deam:
entre sì, con crudas manos,
mis propios padres y hermanos
diviserunt vestem meam!

Yo quedè monja metida,
inocente de mi daño
hasta despues de crecida,
qu'el dolor d'esta herida
me dà queja del engaño,
Anima mea deserta
tristis erit usque ad mortem:
mil angustias a su puerta
sobr'ello traen reyerta,
et super eam miserunt sortem.

D'esta causa, à mì pesàr,
estoy puesta en tal abismo,
de tristeza y de penár,
que no lo basta à contar
ningun cuento de guarismo.
Mortis urget me cupido,
thedio compungor ab isto
con este dolor crescido,
vivo, cuando dèl me olvido,
muero cuando pienso en Crìsto.

Juntanse tambien à esto
otras cosas de quebranto,
que hazen triste à mi jesto,
porque con ellas me acuesto,
y con ellas me levanto,
curæ, mei cordis, heredes,
dies in noctem verterunt:

noches so tantas paredes
con tantos tornos y redes,
dies mei declinaverunt.

Què diré de las passiones
de las congojas continuas
pesadumbres à montones,
e graves reprehensiones,
castigos e disciplinas?
Tentaciones graviores,
quibus in vita resisto,
enojos y sinsabores,
mil plagas y mil dolores,
que me han facto como à Crìsto.

Las amigas que tomè
leales nunca me fueron . . . .
Mas en qien busco yo fè?
pues las tetas que mamè
para mi no la tuvieron?
Cupiditate non fida,
me parentes tradiderunt,
do para siempre perdida,
lloro el placer de mi vida
quem pro numis vendiderunt.

Queriendo darme mas pena,
como Padres indignados,
no bastò echarme en cadena
y en una prision tan buena
que quedaron bien vengados.
Supplicio perfidi meo
hunc dolorem addiderunt,
unde estoy do nadie veo:
por cumplir mas sù desseò,
manus et pedes foderunt.

Viendo aquesto mì ventura
ha venido en tal pobreza,
cual no vino en criatura,
pues los llantos y tristura,
ya no suenan, de flaqueza.
Similata semper agno,
judicata mortis rea
el tormento es tan estraño
que mis trabajos y daño
diminuerunt ossa mea.

Ansi que podrè dezir,
qu'el tener me hizo mal,
pues me pudiera yo ir,
y me pudiera venir
sin tormento tan mortal.
Natam captarunt parentes,
vinculis ligarunt eam,
las monjas muy bien prudentes
y de mis joyas sedientes,
diviserunt vestem meam.

O vosotras, qu' escuchais
por este torno traydor,
yo vos ruego que creais,
que nìngun mal que sintais
iquala con mi dolor.
Vos habetis libertatem,
ego vim patior hic fortem,
hasta que penas me maten
que ya comigo combaten,
et super me miserunt sortem.

END OF VOL. I.

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